

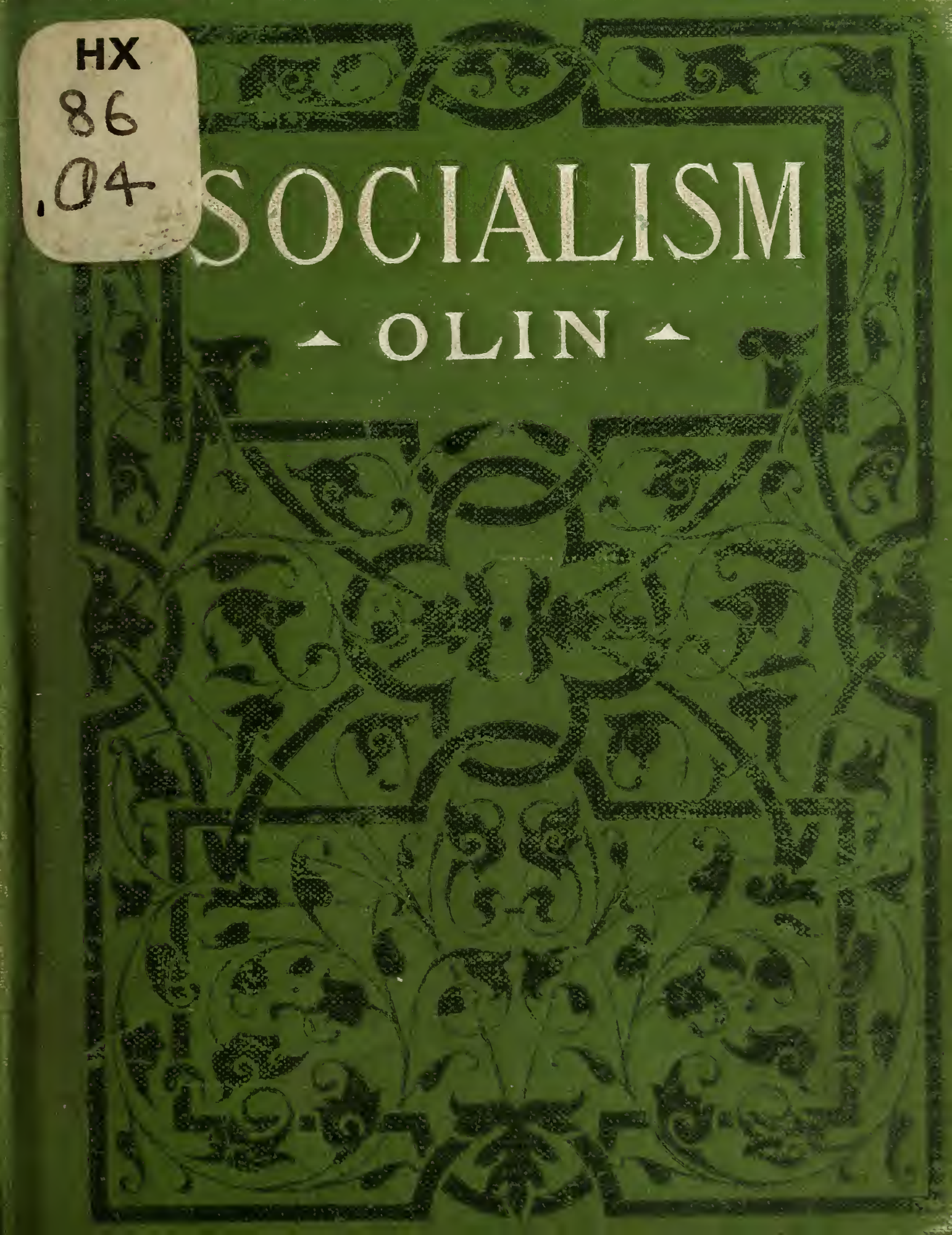
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SOCIALISM

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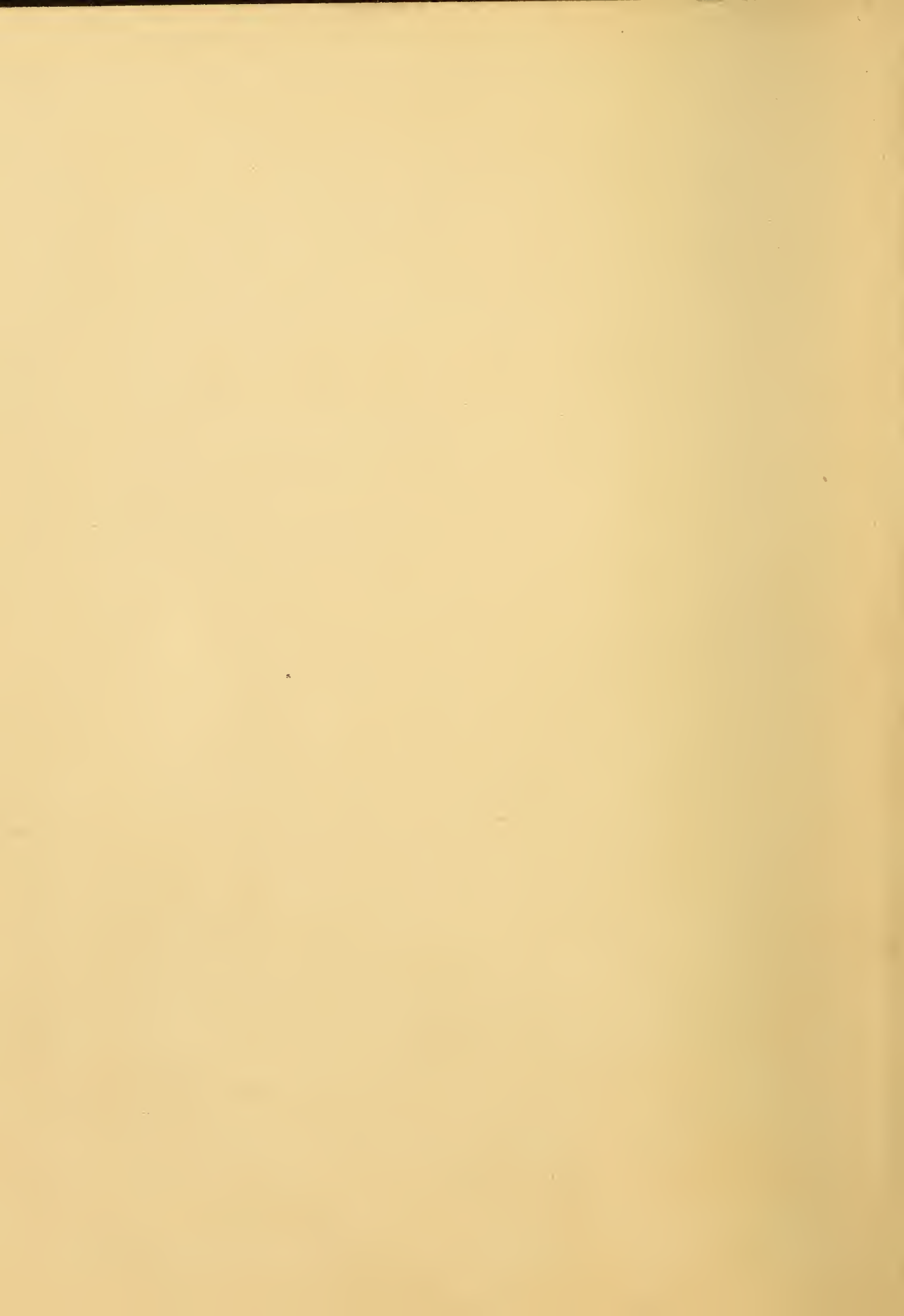


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Socialism



Presents in a simple and interesting
manner a complete idea of the
doctrines taught by the
best socialists

by CHARLES H. OLIN



Philadelphia
The Penn Publishing Company
1908

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PREFACE

IN this book the author has tried to present, plainly and clearly, the ideas of socialism as he has found them in nearly a year's study of the subject. A twelvemonth is little time enough to give to a topic so comprehensive and important as the one here treated, and no pretense is made that the aim has been other than to present the surface facts of socialism in an attractive and popular way.

In the preparation of the work the best authorities have been drawn upon and their ideas given, either in their own languages, in some few instances, or in a manner seemingly better suited to the needs of readers who approach the subject for the first time. Credit has been duly given in some cases, but in others it has not been deemed necessary to do so because of the way in which such extracts have been simplified, adapted, and combined with original matter. The socialist's replies to the individualist, in the final chapter, for example, have been

made up from statements found in the works of Dr. Howard A. Gibbs, Jack London, and Prof. Richard T. Ely. The objections of the individualist are such, it is believed, as would naturally arise in the minds of the opponents of socialism, and the author has not hesitated, in the answers, to make use of many ideas which occurred to him as likely to be of value.

With the hope of lending added interest to the narration of present-day conditions and conditions as they would probably obtain in a coöperative commonwealth, it has been thought best to describe the experiences of a working man in both cases in simple story form, as actual occurrences in the life of a laborer. For those who desire to pursue the study of socialism further, a list of the most important works regarding it is given at the end.

In view of the increasing amount of attention and serious thought now being given to socialism, not only by the workers, but by men of education and professional training, no one who desires to keep informed regarding the great movements of the time can afford to be without at least some knowledge of the subject. It is for the inquirer and the general reader rather

than for the socialist himself that the present treatise has been written, but it is hoped that, even those already familiar with socialistic doctrines will find, in the method of arrangement and simplicity of presentation, something to commend and approve.

C. H. O.



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Socialism

CHAPTER I

SOME EXISTING EVILS

NOT many years ago, socialism was looked upon by most men as a subject fit only for dreamers. But that time has passed. In the last few years interest in socialism and its doctrines for the betterment of present conditions has rapidly increased, and to-day it holds a large place in the minds of many intelligent men and women.

One proof of this is to be found in the fact that Eugene Debs, the great labor leader who was nominated by the Socialist Labor Party for President in 1904, received more votes in Milwaukee than did Judge Parker, the choice of the Democratic Party for the same office. Chicago also largely increased its socialist vote. The country also showed a like increase. In 1888

**Its Growing
Favor**

there were 2,068 socialistic votes cast in thirty-four States; in 1904 the socialistic vote of the United States reached the half million mark.

In fact, socialism is on the way. Ideas which ten or fifteen years ago were held only by socialists form a part of some of the laws of to-day. It is therefore not wise to belittle the power of socialism, for the cries against it grow weaker with the increase in number of the great trusts.

No less a person than President Roosevelt seems to believe in some of the socialistic ideas.

In one of his speeches he has said
Income Tax that a tax should be put upon all fortunes beyond a certain amount, so that no more than that amount could be willed by one person to any one else. It is his idea that the richer a man is the higher tax he should pay. This is much the same as tax on property. The greater the value of a house or land the more it is taxed.

At about the same time that the president made this speech, Representative Lloyd of Missouri said he thought it would be a good idea to limit private fortunes to ten million dollars. At the present time there is nothing to hinder a rich

man from piling up twenty-five, fifty, or even a hundred million dollars if he can do it.

These are nothing less than socialistic ideas put forth by men of means and brains, and were so regarded by a large portion of the press and public.

Indeed the Philadelphia "Record" said that President Roosevelt had given more help to socialism than the socialistic leaders had done in twenty-five years. And the Springfield "Republican" declared that the public mind is rapidly coming to favor plans for stopping the piling up of great fortunes.

What the
Press Says

Several things have contributed to this growth of interest in socialism. Among them may be mentioned the following:

GROWTH OF LARGE FORTUNES

Fifty years ago millionaires in the United States were few. In fact, up to 1830 or 1840 there were no large fortunes in America, and little real poverty. To-day there are many large fortunes and a greater number of gigantic fortunes than in any other country in the world. That to say, North America now has as many

multi-millionaires as the rest of the world put together. Seventy American estates alone average thirty-five millions each.

In 1855 the New York "Sun" could find only twenty-eight millionaires in New York City; while in 1892 the New York "Tribune" published the statement that the number had reached 1,103. In the smaller city of Philadelphia alone there were then more than 200 men possessing at least a million.

A recent conservative estimate that has been approved as reasonable by reliable financial experts, shows that at the present time 5,000 men of this country actually own (without counting what they control) nearly one-sixth of our entire national wealth—money, land, mines, buildings, industries, everything, which if turned into gold would give them all the gold in the world and leave more than nine thousand million dollars still owing them!

At first thought, one might be persuaded that this increase in the number of millionaires and in the size of their fortunes were marks of national greatness and prosperity. This would be so if the majority of the population had a larger share

Wealth Controlled by the Few

in this wealth than they did in the days of smaller fortunes and fewer millionaires. But with this increase of wealth has come an increase of poverty. To-day there are 3,000,000 recognized paupers in the United States. In New York City alone one person in every twelve is buried in the potter's field.

GROWTH OF A PROLETARIAT

Outside of the pauper class, who from choice or necessity depend upon charity, there has grown up what is called a proletariat—a

What It Is word which means the lowest laboring class. The term is now generally used to designate a class of wage-earners not owning the tools with which they work; in other words, it is the class of people without capital which sells its labor for a living.

Before the use of machinery, the farmer sold to the artisan products of his own raising on his own soil, and bought from him the products of handicraft made by the artisan by the labor of his own hands or the work of his own family with tools owned by himself from raw material which he also owned. Farming was then the great American business. Even as late as 1850, farmers

had more than one-half the riches of the country.

The farmer sowed and reaped his own grain and ground it into flour at home or at the village grist-mill. He raised and packed his own beef. He raised his own wool, which he then carded, spun, wove, and made into clothes for himself and family. From his cattle he got hides which he turned into leather for his boots and shoes. These were made either by himself or a traveling shoemaker. His trees supplied him with lumber from which he sawed the boards to build his own house, barns and outbuildings. At night his house was lighted by candles of his own making. In winter it was heated from an open fireplace with cord-wood cut by himself in his own wood-lot. The butter that he used on his bread was made by his good wife from the milk of his own cows, as was also the cheese which he ate with his doughnuts. And he even made most of the simple tools with which he worked.

Home Made
Goods

Thus the farmer was far more independent than we are nowadays. He worked for himself and made or raised everything he needed.

But a certain portion of the population either

were already, or soon became, well enough off to pay for having things made or done for them. Thus there arose a demand for goods outside of those made or raised for personal use.

Simple
Beginnings

Therefore some of the settlers began making for others. As their business grew they hired persons outside the family to help them in their work. Their workers were usually few, and some of them often lived in the house of their employer as apprentices. They were treated as equals, and looked upon the interests of those they worked for almost as their own.

They worked less for board and wages than for the chance to become master workmen.

New things were also coming up every little while. Many of the things which have made people rich were not even thought of in early times. Instead of kerosene, for instance, the people depended upon tallow candles for light. When it was found that petroleum could be used in lamps to make a much better light, men like Rockefeller saw their chance to become rich by bringing it before the people and supplying the demand for it.

New
Industries

With the advent of gas another promising

business was started. The same was true of coal.

The Natural Order of Business Growth and the discovery of the power of steam and the invention of labor-saving machinery brought about a great change. The coming of the railroad made it easy for the small manufacturer to send his goods to more distant places. To supply the increased demands from this wider market larger work rooms were needed, and shops and mills came into existence. One by one the industries were taken from the farm to the factory, until to-day the farmer has become little more than a tiller of the soil.

At first the machines in the shops and mills were crude and simple. The shops and factories were consequently small and located in little villages. As the machines became larger and more complicated, larger buildings were required to contain them and more hands to operate them. Boys and young men left the farms of their fathers and became workmen in the village. This brought about a corresponding growth in the village itself; more accommodations were needed for the increased population. First the village became a town; the town became a city; the city became a metropolis.

So, too, the enlarged machines and factories required more money to operate them than when business was done on a smaller scale. The individual owner therefore formed a partnership with others who had money. As time went on the partnership became a corporation; and, finally, the corporation entered into an agreement with other corporations in its same line of industry and became a trust.

THE GROWTH OF SELF-INTEREST

Naturally with these changes the employer lost that keen interest in those working for him which he had felt when they were only a few, toiling side by side with him, often in his own home. At first he gave his time wholly to the management of the business. As he grew richer he hired a manager, and became simply the owner of the tools and the shop.

In order to make his profits as large as possible, it was to the interest of the owner to hire his workmen as cheaply as he could.

**Good and Bad
Employers** Some treated their help fairly, but others looked upon their workmen much as they looked upon their machines. That is, they tried to get as much work out of them

with as little outlay as possible. The laborer did not share in the increase of profits due to growing business. In dull times he might be laid off until business was better. Thus he was not always sure even of a living wage.

THE DIVISION OF LABOR

Labor, too, was divided up so that the work done by each man was very simple. Instead of mastering a whole trade or business as formerly, the workers now learned only a part of it. This sameness of work tended to make them dull in everything but what they had learned how to do, and thereby still more lessened their chance of being master-workmen and employers. Of course, a few of the brighter and more determined ones might hope to rise, but even for them it became more and more difficult to do so. To-day there is a large class of laborers who have no interest in the work they do outside of the wages they receive, because the conditions under which they labor hold out little hope for their rising to anything higher.

Because of its apparently fixed condition between the owning, or capitalistic class, and the pauper class, this proletariat looks upon the pres-

ent industrial system as an evil, which can only be overcome by checking the control of wealth by the few and giving to all a more equal division of profits and a more equal chance to rise.

THE TRUST EVIL

A condition of the modern industrial system which is widely recognized as an evil is the trust. Later on in this work we shall go more into the subject of trusts; but here it is only necessary to assert that the complete control of any one line of business or manufacture is held to be wrong because of the power it gives to a few over wages, prices, the cost of living, and its action as a hindrance to private enterprise.

TRUSTS AND POLITICS

One complaint often made against trusts is that by their control of enormous capital they are able to influence the election of men favorable to their interests to various political offices. They have also been charged with bribing weak-kneed lawmakers to defeat legislation unfavorable to their own existence or methods.

The Senate's power has made this important

law-making body a tempting target for vested rights and interests. No fair critic will go so far as to say that the Senate is all bad, for this would not be the truth. It contains to-day, as it always has contained, men of honesty and true worth who are real representatives of the people; that it has much ability and patriotism may be fairly conceded. But it is also true that its membership includes men whose names need only be mentioned to convince one that trust interests are well represented there, even if it is untrue to say that those interests control that body.

The Senate
Not all Bad

Socialists, and others besides socialists, say that this condition will exist so long as senators are not elected directly by the people themselves—in other words, so long as they represent States instead of population.

TRUSTS AND THE COURTS

It is often said that the courts are kinder to rich law-breakers than to those without powerful friends or wealth. To a certain extent this seems to be true. It is a deplorable fact that there are judges whose decisions are easily influenced by the posi-

Corrupt
Judges

tion and wealth of rich men or corporations which have broken the law. Rich men are also able to command the very best legal talent, which often leaves no stone unturned to defeat the ends of justice. Laws are sometimes stretched almost to the breaking point to relieve rich clients, or those in the employ of trusts, from the odium of imprisonment, or to secure for them light sentences, as they would not be stretched in the case of a poor man.

One instance of this happened in Chicago a few years ago. The working men of that city had elected a certain man as alderman from the fourteenth ward.

Defeated
Justice

But a street car corporation of that city did not like that man, and it bribed two of the three election judges of one precinct to secretly "correct" the returns so as to give the ward to the candidate favored by the company. The working men spent fifteen hundred dollars to bring these men to their just deserts. The proof against them was so strong that they confessed their guilt. Notwithstanding this, the presiding judge acquitted them, stating that their act "had apparently not been prompted by criminal intent." Comment is unnecessary.

The lengths to which the Standard Oil Company has gone in the past to stop others from producing oil and selling it, have done much to make the people wonder what our business system is coming to. The dishonesty of those at the head of the insurance business, as brought out in 1905-06, and the frequent bank failures through the use of the people's money for private gain, are also signs of dishonesty among those who have come into power.

The use of injunctions by the capitalists and the trusts during strikes, is believed by laboring men to be unjust. Injunctions may sometimes be necessary to prevent the loss of valuable property or the complete destruction of a business, but working men claim that it has often been used to force strikers to come to terms. Many people outside of the ranks of the wage-earners believe that injunctions have been too freely used in the past, and that they are contrary to the spirit of a free country. So too, they say, is the use of the military to protect the supposed rights of one class against the actions of another class, when those actions are not dangerous to the public at large.

ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN

The fact that so many girls and women now do the work formerly done by men is, it is claimed, causing a vast amount of harm to the human race. While doubtless many women take up such work from choice, there are many more who are forced to work because of the present industrial conditions. Owing to the greater cost of living, and the crowded labor market in great cities, not so many men feel like taking upon themselves the burden of a family as formerly. This forces women who would make good wives if they had the chance into offices, shops, and mills. Fewer marriages mean fewer births and possibly "race suicide," the danger of which has been pointed out by President Roosevelt and other prominent men. But, says the socialist, Who is to blame for the conditions which make fewer marriages and compel women to take work which should be done by men ?

Marriage and
Race Suicide

INCREASED COST OF LIVING

The Bureau of Commerce and Labor figures out that the dollar of 1906 is a seventy-five-cent dollar, compared with the dollar of 1897. That

is, the average price of things is higher now than during any other year covered by definite figures. Farm products are 58.6 per cent. higher than in 1896, and food is 29.7 per cent. higher. Clothing costs 22.9 per cent. more than 1897, and fuel and lighting 39.4 per cent. higher than in 1894. Metals, tools, and building materials show an increase of more than forty-one per cent. ; and other commodities which enter into the daily life of the people show a like advance over the prices of ten or twelve years ago. So persons whose wages or incomes have remained the same during that time are really poorer, because the purchasing power of the dollar is less.

Some Striking
Statistics

EVILS OF CHILD LABOR

Another crying evil of the times is child labor. Many States have no laws to protect the children of the poor, and it is said that a million and a half between the ages of ten and fifteen are employed in mines and factories throughout the country. Children even younger are also obliged to work. In another place this subject is more fully gone into. In fairness, it should be added that many thinking men and women are waking

up to the injustice done such children, and in various ways are trying to get legislation passed in their behalf. So long, however, as there are families so poor that all must work or starve, and employers so hard-hearted that they will hire children of tender age because they will, or must, work cheaper than adults, so long will there be found ways of getting around whatever laws may be passed to prevent this crime to childhood.

These are some of the wrongs that at present force themselves upon the attention of intelligent people. Many of these people are doing something besides merely thinking; they are asking themselves if a cure cannot be found for them. Some there are who believe that if left alone things will work out for the best even under the present industrial system. Others believe that only a complete change will make everything right. Among these will be found the socialists, who believe that the best remedy is to be found in placing the control of all business and of all government directly in the hands of the people. We shall not attempt to say whether they are right or wrong, but in the following pages will

try to give a clear idea of what socialism is, and how it would change present conditions if once adopted. But first, we will give a summary of the socialistic programme as it has been worked out in the minds of the leaders of this movement.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIALISTIC PROGRAMME

WE have now reached the point where it is well to consider the means by which the socialist purposes to cure the evils resulting from our present industrial system. First and foremost he looks to a

UNION OF WORKERS

Not only the workers of this nation, but of all nations, in the socialistic movement. Only by such union does he think that full success can be gained. In support of this idea, it is pointed out that the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the lowest and most ill-used workers in the most distant countries, socialists say, must tend, sooner or later, to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. Therefore, the socialistic movement is a world movement. It knows of no conflict of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers

of all nations; and, in so standing, it declares that it makes for the full freedom of all humanity. Once this union is brought about, the socialists expect to labor together for the founding of

THE COÖPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

by seizing every possible advantage that may strengthen them to get complete control of the powers of government.

Socialism holds that the present industrial system is directly contrary to the democratic system of politics in this country. As the founders of the Republic believed that the government should be controlled by the whole people, so socialists believe that all the means of production should likewise belong to the people in common—such as the land, the tools, the machinery, etc.

In the coöperative commonwealth, the people as a whole, and not merely the few as at present, would own and control the railways, the tools and machinery, the mines, the land, and the raw material.

Under the present system, it is claimed that men are divided into two great classes. One of these, made up of wage-earners, can live only by

their work. In order to work they need tools and machinery, which they have not got. But these the capitalist does have. That is, he owns the land, the factories, the machinery, and the raw materials from which goods are made, and most of the money.

Under socialism all this is to be changed. When all have an equal interest in the tools and machinery, the land and the raw material, there can be no wage-earning system as at present, and no class-feeling.

Socialists, however, do not expect to bring all this about until they are strong enough to elect a socialist President, socialist governors, and a majority of socialist senators and representatives. In the meantime, as steps toward the desired end, they pledge themselves to support all legislation which will result in the following :

LIST OF REFORMS

1. Shortened days of labor and increase of wages.
2. For insuring all workers against accidents, sickness, and lack of employment.
3. For pensions for aged and exhausted workers.

4. For the public ownership of the means of transportation (railways, steamships, etc.), communication (telegraph and telephone), and exchange.

5. For a tax on incomes and inherited fortunes, public rights and land values, the money so raised to be used for bettering the condition of the workers' children and keeping them from the workshop during the school age.

6. For giving the voting power to all adults regardless of sex, creed or color.

7. For preventing the use of military force against labor in the settlement of strikes.

8. For the free administration of justice, and free legal assistance. Judges to be elected by the people.

9. For the right of people to propose laws (the initiative as it is called) and to vote upon all measures of importance (the referendum). Under this system, any law passed may be vetoed by the people, and any law may be proposed which a small part of the population desires enacted.

10. For the election of senators by the people direct and according to population, instead of a fixed number from each State (two), who are elected by the legislature, as at present. Also,

for the right to recall all officers of the government by those who elect them.

And, finally, for everything which will tend to improve the lot of the workers, and for whatever will lessen the industrial and political power of the capitalists, and increase the like powers of the working man, such as a working day of not more than eight hours ; equal pay for equal service, for men and women ; the doing away of the contract system in public works ; the issue of all money by the government instead of through national banks ; the abolition of a standing army and the formation of a national citizens' militia : the people to decide on peace or war ; for the construction of light, clean and well-ventilated houses for the people, such dwellings to be let at rents which will cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone ; and for free education in college or university for those who are fitted for such education, as well as in the elementary schools.

From all this, it will be seen that the socialistic programme is very complete. It will be noted, too, that much in accord with it has already been accomplished. Take, for instance, the first of the numbered items.

PRACTICAL RESULTS

Within the memory of men who are living to-day, a working day of from twelve to sixteen hours was once not uncommon.

**The Shorter
Working Day**

Under these conditions the working man was more of a slave to labor than he is at present, and had much less time for self-improvement or pleasure. Nowadays most States have an eight-hour law for all mechanical trades, and in union shops and factories over-time work is paid for at the union over-time rate. Who can doubt that this is a change for the better? While the increase in wages has not kept pace with the decrease in the number of working hours, union rates are generally better than the wages paid twenty-five years ago. But, although this is true, the cost of the necessities of life, as we have seen, is also higher, which offsets the increase in wages. It cannot be denied that the passing of eight-hour laws has been brought about by the demands of labor working together either as union men or as socialists.

Not so much has been accomplished toward insuring all workers against accidents and sickness, but some progress has been made toward the desired end. Many shops and factories have mu-

tual-aid funds, from which money may be drawn to tide employees over periods of sickness or disability from other causes, when they are unable to work.

Mutual Aid
Funds

Some of the funds also provide burial expenses for deceased members. Most of such funds, however, have been organized by the working men themselves, each member giving a small sum weekly toward its increase and maintenance. Liberal employers also often donate to it considerable sums annually.

The Boston & Maine Railroad employees have a mutual aid fund of this kind, and the management of the road itself has under consideration a pension system by which each man in its employ shall give a small portion of his weekly or monthly wage for the upbuilding of a fund to support retired members after they have been employed by the company for a certain number of years.

In the early summer of 1906 the National Tobacco Company organized an insurance plan for its employees, wholly on its own account. By this plan the entire expense of the insurance is carried by the company itself, and it costs the employees

A Trust Insur-
ance System

nothing. The amount of the insurance, however, is small (\$400) payable on the death of the employee to those he leaves behind him. But when the vast number of those employed by the tobacco trust is taken into account, it will be seen that the total expense will be considerable. The fact that the company was willing, on its own volition, to take this step at all is an encouraging sign of the effect which the constant efforts of the socialists for the better treatment of labor has had upon the public mind.

But, say the socialists, these are only individual cases. What is needed is the passing of a government measure for the payment of old-age pensions from the National Treasury. "It is," declares "The Vanguard," "a deep disgrace to America that here we have no legislation of the kind. Except by the Social Democrats, the question of old-age pensions is not discussed in this country. Yet there is no country on the face of the globe where they are such a crying necessity, as in this land of high pressure and early breakdowns. Year by year, as life becomes more strenuous and the pace of industry moves faster and faster, younger men are needed. The middle-aged can with difficulty keep up the speed.

Old men are entirely out of the race. As conditions are changing in this country, it is becoming impossible for working men to lay up their earnings for their last days. . . . The American people have been exceedingly liberal in their pensions for old soldiers. Why should they not do as much for the old veterans of labor? The men who, by patient toil with hand and brain, through a long lifetime, have built up the country deserve at least an equal reward with the heroes of the battle-field.”

Insurance against lack of employment has not yet been brought about; under the present business system it is difficult to see how it ever can be. This fact, says the socialist, is one reason for wishing to change the system.

Little has yet been done in this country toward public ownership of railways, steamships, telegraph and telephone lines, etc. In some cities attempts have been made to own and operate lighting and other public service plants, but these have not generally been successful. It will not do, however, to argue from this that the idea is wrong, for the socialists point out that municipal ownership here has been tried only under a system in

**The Public
Ownership Idea**

which graft and money-making seems to be the chief end of many public officials. With a form of government in which the piling up of fortunes would not be possible, and under which every man would feel that in working for the good of all he was best working for himself, the result might well be different.

An example of a successful—in the sense of giving the best public service at a minimum cost regardless of large financial returns—socialistic institution is the post-office of the United States. Owned by the people as a whole, all share in many ways the advantages of this common ownership. In most countries the telegraph is also owned by the people. Forests are to a considerable extent so owned, and in some countries railroads are also controlled by the government. It is only necessary to continue the process by which these have been made public property, and apply it to everything, to bring about the conditions for which the socialists are striving.

New York State already has an inheritance tax, by which a certain portion of inherited fortunes is turned into the State Treasury. Massachusetts and other States have similar,

though perhaps less effective taxes, and no doubt all will gradually fall into line.

Inheritance
Taxes

These are all of a socialistic nature, and socialists therefore regard them as steps in the right direction.

But in the way of their political demands, given in the rest of the numbered items, little headway has been made. Not until these demands are favorably acted upon by a majority of the lawmakers will socialistic government be an actual fact. Hence the socialist's call to all working men to unite under his banner, so that by force of numbers those who believe in the justice of his case may be elected to public offices.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE OF A WORKING MAN

IN order to understand why the socialists say that a change in social conditions is really needed, let us tell the life story of a laborer under the present system, and, later, describe the advantages to be obtained under the best socialistic government.

While of course, it is doubtful if any one man would have quite the experience that is related here, it would not be impossible as business is now carried on for one to have it. All the facts and figures regarding the treatment of children in the great factories, and the troubles of labor in its struggle to find work, have been taken from accounts of those who have made a special study of the subject.

Suppose we give the person whose life story we are to tell, the plain, honest name of John Green.

Green was born, we will say, in a little New England village. He started life as the son of a

carpenter, who usually had work enough to keep his family from actual want, even if there was not much left over.

For the first few years of his life Johnny was happy. There were a number of children of his own age to play with. Some of these were sons and daughters of rich parents and some, like himself, were children of tradesmen who found it hard at times to make both ends meet. But that fact made no difference to Johnny nor to the others at that age.

Democracy of
Children

To be sure, some of his playmates had better clothes than he had, a greater number of toys, and other things dear to children's hearts, but our young hero did not care much about that, except now and then when he wanted something that some of the rest possessed and was told at home that he could not have it.

But, as he grew older, he began to think that things were not divided up as they should be. "Billy" Jones, for instance, had a nice, brightly painted "express-wagon," while he had to get along with one which his father made for him. To be sure, it was a good one, but still it was not like Billy Jones's, and it had not been bought at

the store. Billy also had two new suits of clothes a year, while Johnny thought himself lucky if he got a new suit in two years. More often the clothes he wore were made over from those which had been cast off by his father.

Few of us do believe that the good things of life are divided equally. The earth itself is bountiful. It is covered with green grass and shrubs and pretty flowers to please the eye, and with trees and plants that bring forth fruit and vegetables for the food of all. On the hills and mountains and in the woods, and in the mines under the earth are to be found wood and coal enough to supply the human race with heat to cook its food and to keep it warm when warmth is needed. So, too, the mines yield the metal from which are made money, tools and machinery.

Natural
Products

But in spite of this we do not all have an equal share, and some have hardly any share at all. In fact, the very poor think themselves lucky if they can get enough of anything to keep body and soul together, as the saying is. To some extent this has always been so. History shows that in every age there have been those who were better off than others. In early times men laid the dif-

ference to the will of God. Those who had everything looked down upon those who had nothing as made of common clay, who could never expect to be anything better because God had made them so.

THE FEELING IN AMERICA

But while this was so in the old countries across the ocean, this idea found little foothold here in America. When this government was first formed, it was declared that all men were created free and equal. To be sure, all men did not have the same amount of money or property; and there were even some among the early people of this country who looked down upon others, just as there are some to-day who scorn those who are not so well off as they are.

THE CLASS FEELING

As Johnny grew older he began to notice that his playmates who had rich parents did not seem to care so much about playing with him. Indeed they began to put on airs and slight him because he was the son of a poor man. When they had parties, Johnny and other children in no better circumstances were not invited. Johnny was of

a sensitive nature and these things made him sad or angry as his mood might be at the time.

“Why is it,” he asked his father one day, “that Billy Jones’s folks have everything and we have nothing?”

A Question “Simply because Billy Jones’s folks are rich and we are poor,” was the answer.

“But why aren’t we rich, too?” asked the boy.

“Well, for one reason because my father did not leave me money as some do, and for another because I suppose I am too honest,” was the bitter reply. “Billy Jones’s father got his money in ways that I should not want to follow. He kept a store and gave short weight, put fine, white sand in his sugar to increase its bulk, and did other things that no really honest man would do, but which many business men have winked at.

“During war time, when everything was high, I bought of Jones several yards of calico to make your mother a dress, paying him thirty cents a yard for it. After I had paid him he boasted to me that the cloth was from a big stock of calico that he

got in before the war, for which he paid only six cents a yard.¹ He was the only one in town who had calico on hand, and other things which the people could get only at several times the original cost to him. He called this business enterprise; I call it cheating. It was in such ways that he and others like him grew rich. Not content with a fair profit, they took advantage of every chance to squeeze the people who must go to them for what they wanted, or go without."

"Have all rich men got their money that way, father?" asked Johnny.

"Oh, no, there are some who are honest, but shrewd and saving, and quicker than other men to see ways in which to make money
The Honest Rich grow, while still giving others a fair and honest return, and acting on the plan of 'Live and let live.' These are looked up to and respected by those around them. It is true, too, that some fortunes of very moderate proportions are the result of two or three generations of successful but fair business methods."

Soon after this conversation, Johnny's father was taken ill and for a long time was unable to

¹ A fact in the experience of a relative of the author.

work at all. What with doctor's bills and ordinary expenses his little savings soon melted away, and the family were reduced to hard straits.

During a period when things were at their worst with them, Johnny's aunt, who lived in a large town in Maine near the sea, wrote that, while she was too poor to aid them herself, she thought she could get Johnny a job in a canning factory in her neighborhood, where children worked in large numbers. The wages would be small, but they might help to keep the family going until the father was able to work again.

THE EVILS OF CHILD LABOR

So Johnny was sent on to Maine to become a worker in a cannery. He was then ten years old, but young as he was he found himself working beside children half his age. During the rush seasons they were kept at work from daylight to dark, while a man stood by to beat them if they lagged. Under this treatment many of the children seemed less like boys and girls than little old men and women who had lost all idea of playtimes and school-days,

The Cannery

and grew paler and thinner each week. Seemingly without pity, the owners of the cannery treated them like machines, and the laws of the State allowed them to do so.

From a usually bright and happy boy, Johnny became moody and silent, going about his work as stolidly as a badly used beast of burden. Neither his mother nor his father dreamed of what he was going through, and from having known of such things all her life his aunt looked upon the labor and hardships of children as a matter of course.

Johnny was the son of a poor man and must work like all poor boys. What mattered it if he and others like him no longer knew anything about the joys of childhood? People must live even if they have to put their children at work almost as soon as they are out of the cradle.

**The Poor Must
Work**

If they do not work the poorest of them either starve to death, roam the street at will, or go to school hungry, as sixty to seventy thousand of them do in New York City alone, unable to study because of the feeling of hunger.

Working a large part of the time from daylight to dark, Johnny grew old beyond his years, and

it was not long before he began to ask those about him if boys and girls were as badly treated elsewhere. At last he found some one who could answer his question. From him he learned that in the New York canning factories mere babies are employed; that in one canning factory of that State a child of four earned nineteen cents a day stringing beans; and that in another, children of six and seven were to be found working at two o'clock in the morning.

Babes at Work

He was told, too, that in the cotton mills of the South more than sixty thousand children under fourteen, hundreds being as young as seven or eight, are kept at work for long hours.

Southern Cotton Mills

In answer to a question asked her by a kind-hearted lady (Miss Jane Addams, the noted social settlement worker of Chicago), one little girl in a cotton mill in Augusta, Ga., too young to talk plainly, said: "When I work nights I'se too tired to undress when I gits home, and so I goes to bed wif me clo'es on."

A Little Girl's Answer

One of the older boys where Johnny worked

told him that he had a cousin who had gone blind while working at the glass trade, which can use boys instead of men for much of the work, and at a third of the price. Others in this trade also become blind or have their sight impaired forever.

He learned, too, that the mines employ thousands of young boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, who work twelve hours for sixty cents a day; while the cigar factories also use thousands of young children.¹

All these things made a strong impression on Johnny's mind, and he still thought of them long after he had left the canning factory.

¹ These facts are all given in John Spargo's book, "The Bitter Cry of the Children," published in the early part of 1906.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE OF A WORKING MAN (*Continued*)

BETWEEN twelve and fifteen Johnny had a better time of it. His father, who had removed to a city, was at work again, and the boy lived at home and went to school. He had been out of school so long that he was backward in his studies, and for that reason was put into a class of children much younger than himself. This did not make his lot any easier, for his school-mates of his own age made fun of him until he showed a mind to stop their taunts with his fists, when he got to be known as a bad boy.

But there was good stuff in Johnny and he tried hard to learn, for he had made up his mind that he must fight his way through the world, and that the more he knew the better he could wage the battle. With all its drawbacks, too, his life at school was far easier and happier than that in the canning factory, at which he always looked back with a shudder.

He had just passed his fifteenth birthday when his father died, and Johnny bade good-bye to school-days forever. He must now work to sup-

port his mother, and he started out to find a job. From store to store he went, from shop to shop and mill to mill, but no one wanted him. No one! Well, not quite. After three days he found some one who did want him.

There was a big express strike on in the city. The drivers of the express wagons had asked for higher wages, and had been refused. So they struck. They were in a fair way to win when the express companies began to hire strike-breakers. Johnny was one of these. He was tall for his age, and the companies were in such straits that they eagerly snapped up any one who was willing to take out a wagon.

Because nearly all trades are now crowded, there has grown up a large class who have work only part of the time. Many of these, finding that they can live by begging have become tramps who seek the city in winter and go abroad through the country in spring and summer. A large number of these would not work if they could, but there are also among them many who remain tramps only because they cannot get work.

These are ready to take any job that offers. Knowing this, the employer feels still more free

to do as he likes with his laborers. If they do not like it he can easily find others to take their places. Instead of using part of his profits to better the lives of those who have helped him to become rich, he spends his money on himself for things that he does not really need or saves it for his own use in the future.

Men who have studied the subject say that, under present conditions, these idlers are necessary ; for, if all of them looked for work honest laborers would have a far harder task finding something respectable to do.

At the same time this large idle class is one of the greatest evils with which the laborer has to contend, because those in it who will
A Great Evil work stand ready to take his place when the workman tries to get higher wages or better treatment.

This was shown in San Francisco a few years ago. During a big strike there a large number of unemployed men fought for a chance to take the places left by the strikers. Men were killed, hundreds of heads were broken by the police and thousands were hurt, and still others came forward to do the work. If there were no idle workers ill-used employees would be in a better

position to enforce their demands, and grasping employers would, from necessity, feel more inclined to listen to them.

The strike had been on a week when Johnny was sent out one morning with a lot of others, boys and men, to try to get some goods through the city. Hardly knowing what he was doing, Johnny started with a full wagon; but before he had proceeded far he was surrounded by an angry crowd of the strikers who held up his horses and dragged him from the seat. "You would take the bread out of our mouths, would you?" shouted a burly man, raising his arm to strike the boy.

The Strike
Breaker

Another man stepped in the way and grabbed the hand, just in time to stop the blow. "Oh, come now, Jack," he said, "can't you see he's nothing but a kid? I'll bet he didn't mean to do us any harm, did you, boy?"

Johnny shook his head.

"Well, remember this," said the man, "when you step into any one's job against his will, strike or no strike, you may be taking away the bread from his mouth and the mouths of those who depend upon him for support."

A Truth

“But if I don’t take the work that is offered,” answered Johnny, “I may starve myself—myself and my mother.”

“Aye, that’s just the trouble. No man is a strike breaker because he wants to be, no more than he is a striker if he is treated right. It is the system that is to blame for both. Now get along and good luck to you!”

You may be sure that Johnny lost no time in following this advice, and from that moment he made up his mind never to be a strike-breaker again. He had no wish to take the place of others who needed work as much as himself.

Soon after this he got work in the cloth room of a cotton factory. Here he was paid five dollars a week, which was little enough to keep him and his mother alive, but was better than nothing.

His working hours were from half-past six in the morning until half-past six at night, with three-quarters of an hour at noon.

**The Mill
Worker**

In this mill even grown men and women tended six and seven looms for seven dollars and a half or eight dollars a week, and hundreds of boys of his own age, and even younger, were employed.

How Johnny grew to hate the sight and sound

of that big mill, with its clanging machinery, its smell of oil, and its bell which called him to work, on winter mornings, through snowy, wind-blown streets before daylight, and only let him out for the day when it was dark again! But his mother depended upon him, and in summer things were pleasanter.

But before the summer months had passed, the mill shut down. Some one, somewhere, had seen fit to buy up all the cotton in sight and hold it until he could sell it for a much higher price than it was bringing at first. Of course as it grew scarce the price of it slowly rose. At last it became so high that the owners of the mill could not make cotton cloth at a good profit without raising their own prices for the goods. They did so, but the demand for their cloth fell off, and finding that there was little money in keeping the mill going they shut down until such time as cotton became plenty and cheap again. Johnny was out of work again.

A Corner
in Cotton

But before long he found something to do. He was now too old to learn a trade and at the same time support his mother, even if he had wanted to do so. But he did not want to. Men

who had learned trades did not seem to be much better off than himself.

Under the old system of doing work by hand, the workman was known as an artisan—that is, a man who knew his trade from “A” to “Z.” The carpenter, for instance, was an artist in wood—a skilled wood-worker. The blacksmith was an artist in iron. The shoemaker was an artist in leather. Under the present system of production or manufacture, the artisan in most cases has become merely a machine tender. He feeds the machine and the machine does the work. So the machine has become the real artisan.

By the aid of the machine the man is able to do far more work in the same time than he could do formerly, but the share coming to him for that work is less than it was when there was no machinery.

The
Machine

While more than half of the population of this country is made up of the working class, only ten out of every hundred of this class own a house, and only a very small number have any of the wealth which they have helped to make. They have nothing but their labor power to sell, and they must sell it for what it will bring or starve. Owing to the large number of those

always out of work, the worker must sell his labor on an overstocked market.

So Green decided that there was no hope for him in that direction. Naturally healthy and strong and bothered neither by aches nor pains he was usually able to get something to do to keep his mother and himself from actual want, and in a way he began to take an interest in the world. He was now at a period when life itself seemed good, no matter how it was lived, and he felt able to hold his own with any one. This was natural. To fight like a man and do a man's work (even for a boy's pay) were things that gripped hold of him as nothing else could. He never doubted that he would continue to play the man's game with unfailing health, without accidents, and with muscles ever strong.¹

As for the sick and the ailing, the old and the crippled, he hardly thought of them at all. Sometimes he did indeed feel a vague pity for them, but that was all. Regarding their helplessness and misery he rarely, if ever, felt any concern. His chief interest was with John Green, and so long as he had work, no matter

¹ Adapted from Jack London's relation, "How I Became a Socialist."

how hard or ill-paid, he was as happy as a beast of burden which thinks itself well rewarded for all the toil of the day if only it is well fed and housed at night.

Then his mother died, and he was left alone. Thrown more among the people in the cheap boarding-houses in which he lived

Woes of Labor thereafter, he began at last to understand the real woes of the laborer. He found that it was not true, as he had hitherto believed, that no man need be without work if he really wants it. That may have been so once, but it is not so now. To-day there is less chance for the poor man than in the earlier years of this country's development, although this fact is denied by rich men, who are fond of saying that opportunities for young men are more abundant now than ever before. For men

Less Chance for Poor Men Now of education, and those who already have some means, this may, to some extent, be true; but not for men whose education is limited and who have nothing to begin with. More money is required to start any kind of business than was needed when this country was young. There were fewer people in the States then. Villages and cities were

small, but they were growing all the time. Every trade and profession was not crowded as it is at present. So there was room for a new man even if he did start in a small way, and most of the great businesses of to-day grew from small beginnings.

Among the people with whom Green became acquainted he found men of all grades and abilities. Some had been through both school and college; they were in every way smart and bright, but were forced to do work that gave them only a bare living because every industry seemed overcrowded. Men who had studied long and hard to become doctors or lawyers were to be found running trolley-cars or acting as clerks, because they could not get enough practice as doctors and lawyers to pay the cost of rent, food and clothing. He found men who had been owners of retail stores until their business had been ruined by the big department stores. These, because of their bigness, can buy goods in large lots (and thus buy cheaper) and so sell them at a lower figure than the owner of the small store can at a profit. The great mass of buyers trade where the prices are lowest, and the smaller dealers go out of business.

THE RISE OF TRUSTS

Green also learned that still another thing working against the laborer is the trust. Trusts have been a natural growth from the smaller "combinations" and agreements affecting a few firms only. These were made as a measure of economy in buying materials, in paying salaries, to lessen competition, and to some extent, no doubt, to check the growing power of the labor unions. This has gone on until almost every great industry is controlled by a few men. Having a common understanding as to prices and trade plans they are able to stop others outside the trusts from making and selling goods in the same line without their consent, and some trusts have not scrupled to do so by fair means or foul.

Many working people feel that such trusts have worked to take away the control of trade from the people, or the many, and keep it in the hands of the rich, or the favored few. Not content with fair profits, these trusts, so we are told, have increased their wealth by dishonest means. It should not be inferred from this, however, that all millionaires have obtained their wealth through trusts or by dishonest methods, as this would not be true. Nor are all trusts ungener-

ous. Some of them carry on their business in mutual coöperation with their employees, with whom they make annual agreements regarding the wage scale, and hours of work, and for whom they have a regular system of promotion.

The tendency to form combinations in different lines of business has resulted in the tobacco trust, the steel trust, the sugar trust, the oil trust, and meat and many other trusts. One firm alone has one hundred and fifty grocery stores ; the United Cigar Company has one hundred and ten stores in New York City alone and hundreds of others scattered throughout the country. The Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company's grocery stores, and the Dennett and the Childs' restaurants are other examples of ownership of retail business on a large scale.

As Green and his companions were thrown together in large shops and mills, they talked over their wrongs and sufferings with each other, and began to seek a remedy. Feeling that something must be done to limit the power and independence of their employers they joined the labor unions. Acting as a body they were in a better position to enforce their demands for higher

Labor Unions

wages and shorter hours than they were when acting singly.

WORKING GIRLS AND WOMEN

Green found, too, that in offices and stores girls and women were taking the places that had been filled by men. Why? Simply because girls and women would work cheaper. He did not blame the girls or women, for of course they would be glad to get as high wages as the men they displaced. In many cases they had to work or starve, and the employers would not pay them more. They worked because they had to or because they needed money which the family at home could not give them. And because they lived at home or because the price of their board and lodgings was cheaper, they were supposed to be able to live upon less than men. So the employer with his greed for greater profits hired them in place of men to whom he would have to pay better wages.

Of course this is not always so. Girls and women can do certain lines of work as well, if not better, than men and so they are often hired because of this fact and paid as good wages as men would get for the same work. Where there

is one case of this kind, however, there are perhaps ten of the other.

Green saw also that because most laboring men are no longer sure of anything more than a bare living they do not marry in such large numbers as they did when life seemed easier and conditions were better. This accounts, too, for the large number of young women who look for work. Finding themselves unmarried because men who would be glad to marry if they were always sure of being able to keep a family from want do not ask them, they must support themselves when they become of age or become a burden to the family at home.

Decrease in
Marriages

So it works out this way : The laboring man is often afraid to take upon himself the support of another, and the girl he would marry if he felt able must shift for herself. The employer offers her less because he knows she can live upon less, and the man she displaces must look elsewhere for work. Sometimes he finds it at as good pay as he had before ; sometimes he doesn't. When this happens he must take what he can get, or join those who are employed only part of the time, or become a tramp.

Just to study the thing out, Green, now a man grown, went tramping one summer.

Stealing rides on bumpers or in freight cars he fought his way from the crowded labor centres of the East where men hunt jobs for all they are worth, to the seacoast cities of the West where men fight for a chance job on the wharves.

Among this tramp class he found men just as good as himself and often better. Among these were men who had been soldiers, sailors, men who had trades and men who had never learned any trade, men who had been used up by hard work, men who had been crippled and twisted out of shape by toil, hardship and accident and then cast adrift like so many old horses. As he begged with them, traveled with them, shivered with them in box-cars and city parks, and listened to them, his brain began to work. The women of the streets and the men of the gutter seemed very close to him and a terror seized him. "What," he asked himself, "what will become of me when my strength fails through hard work or old age? What, when I am no longer able to work shoulder to shoulder with the strong men who are yet babes unborn?" What but the poorhouse and the pauper's grave!

Labor no longer seemed a game for men to play. Rather it seemed like a great giant ever pushing him and grinding him down, giving him a poor living while he was well and strong, and little more. He told himself that there was something wrong in the present business system which gives much to a few and little to the many. But what could be done to mend matters? At that time Green did not know.

But because he did not like tramping and was too proud to beg all his life, he went back to work. He found a job that promised to be steady and that paid him better than anything he had ever had before. He stuck to it and saved a little. And then he did a foolish thing for a day laborer with only small means. He got married.

Since then the struggle has been harder. With a growing family and more mouths to feed—for the poor man who can't afford it usually has several children, while the rich man who can afford it has few if any—what money he gets does not go as far as it once did. Nor does it buy so much, because nearly everything is higher than it was ten years ago. Rent in the cities is higher, the cost of oil, meat, clothing, and other necessities of life,

The Bitterness
of the Struggle

is higher, and wages have not kept pace with the greater cost of living.

So Green is more than ever sure that something is wrong. Lately he has been trying to find out if there is not some cure for the system which bids fair to keep him, and others like him, under its heel until he is too old to work longer. For all he can see when that time comes he can hope for nothing except the poorhouse or the grudging charity of friends or relatives. With this idea he took up the study of socialism. Up to that time his attitude toward the subject had been that of the man in the following story.

CHAPTER V

SOME WRONG IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

SOME one has related that an Irishman was talking one day with a friend about the merits of socialism. "Well," said his companion after listening to him for a while in silence, "what is this socialism, onyway, that ye b'lieve in?"

"You see, Mike," was Pat's reply, "it is just this way. If I had two hundred thousand dollars I wud gie ye half."

"But if ye had two pigs?" asked Mike.

"Oh, g'wan," was the quick response, "ye know well enough I've got two pigs."

Pat's sudden change of front well illustrates the attitude of a good many people who regard socialism as a good thing only so long as it does not seem likely to be put into practice. The real socialist is he who is willing to stand by his guns and put into practice that which he has taught.

But the tale also illustrates another thing. It shows a common misunderstanding as to the nature of true socialism.

For the best socialism does not look to any such extreme step as the division of present property or wealth. It only desires a rebuilding of society along such lines as will make it possible for all to have a share of the wealth to be gained by working together in the future. There is no plan for dividing up fortunes that are already made. Such division is left to the natural operation of time.

With the coming in of socialism present fortunes would stop growing because interest, dividends, rentals, etc., would be cut off. As all would share equally in the benefits of the new industrial system in the comforts and luxuries, as well as the necessaries of life—the poor would be as well off as the rich. Large fortunes would therefore be of use to their owners only when turned over to the government for the benefit of all. So, in course of time, it is expected that regard for his own welfare might cause the millionaire to give for public use that which he had formerly held for his own.

Nor does socialism insist that everything shall be held in common. While it declares that under its rule society, or the people as a whole, would own the land, the money and the machin-

ery, which are now the main sources of private wealth, each man could still own those things which make for his enjoyment or comfort or which perish in the using. For example, a piano, the furnishings of one's house, dishes, pictures, ornaments, books, food and clothing, and the small tools which he uses.

From this it is plain that socialism desires to do away only with that private property which is obtained through the toil of others. Thus a man could build a house on his own land for his own use; but not to let to another for the purpose of deriving an income.

It was once held by socialists that all land should be owned by society. Within recent years, however, they have been willing to allow small land-owners to cultivate their land themselves, where the object is not to pile up profits. At the same time it is thought best that most of the capital, or wealth, and the greater part of the land should be owned by the people as a whole.

SOCIALISM VS. ANARCHISM

Many persons once believed that socialism and anarchism were much the same thing. Such people looked upon the socialist as a wild-eyed man

with a dynamite bomb sticking out of his coat-tail pocket. Happily, however, this idea is rapidly passing away, for those who have made any study at all of the subject know that it is not true.

The difference is this. The anarchist would do away with all forms of government and would have no law at all. Or, rather, each man would be a law unto himself. He could share with others or not, just as he pleased.

The socialist, on the contrary, does not wish to make government less, but to make it more, so as to take in everything. He would have the people as a whole own the coal mines, the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, the shops and the mills, the land and the machinery, so that each must share in the goods and the profits resulting from the use of such things whether he wishes to or not. Each man would then have the yearly result of his labor for himself, but that yearly result would be little more than could be used up each year. His anxiety for the future would be removed, as he would always be sure of at least a living; and cripples and others who could not work would be provided for by all. It is clear, therefore, that anarchism with

its destruction of all forms of government and its cry of every man for himself, has nothing in common with true socialism. It was the socialists who drove the anarchists from Germany, and this has happened elsewhere.

SOCIALISM AND MARRIAGE

Another wrong idea of socialism is that it would do away with the family and put "free love" in place of marriage. As socialism is chiefly concerned with a change in the industrial and political systems, it has no real connection with views concerning the family. To be sure, some of the more extreme socialists believe in "free love," but it is not necessarily a doctrine of socialism any more than matrimony is necessarily a doctrine of our present system. Among the supporters of both, various and widely different views are held concerning the sacredness of the marriage tie. Indeed, the socialist points out that modern business methods—as they operate, for instance, in the factory towns of New England, where women are more largely employed than men, in the logging camps of the lumber districts, and the gold and silver mining camps of the West where men are, to a great de-

gree, separated from womenkind—are destroying the family. As evidence of this he points to the increasing number of divorces and the decreasing number of marriages in industrial centres, and asserts that this condition of things is brought about largely by the necessity for separation of the members of the family in order that they may gain support.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

It is often declared by those who know little about the subject that socialists believe neither in God nor religious forms. Almost the same answer may be given to this criticism as to that concerning marriage. Among socialists will be found men of all religious views, just as among the members of any other party. Some socialists are regular church-goers; others are not. Some are strong believers in God and the Bible; others hold liberal, or even loose, views concerning both. They would undoubtedly hold the same views if they were not socialists. Some there are who assert that socialism is nearer to the spirit of true Christianity than the present social order, because both the former aim to help the weak and lift the fallen. At the same time,

it is true that the socialists in European countries, such as France, for instance, have generally been against the Church for the reason, they say, that the Church has usually supported the claims of the rich and strong against the poor and the weak. But while they quarrel with the Church, men may still be truly religious and truly believers in God. Socialism does not say that its followers shall either believe in God or not believe in Him; either go to church or stay at home. Its chief concern is with their material, not their spiritual, welfare.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

In thus learning something of what socialism is not, we have at the same time learned something of what it is. Only a little need be added to this information to make the subject clearer and more fully understood.

In its simplest terms socialism may be said to be any plan which would put in place of the individual, company or trust working for private gain the people in the mass working together for the common good in all lines of human effort. This is, of course, true brotherhood.

But the word socialism as ordinarily used has

a far narrower meaning. It calls to mind a system for the betterment of trade and business affairs, which deals with other questions only when they bear upon trade and business. It concerns itself with politics because without a change in government policy socialists see that they cannot fully bring about the change desired. This socialism which plans for a complete reform in present methods is often called "Scientific Socialism." This is the socialism of the Socialist Labor Party which holds conventions, prepares a platform, and nominates a full ticket of government officials as do other political parties. As we have already seen in Chapter II, it puts out a very full programme of desired reforms.

It does not wish, however, to force itself upon any one. In fact, even under a Coöperative Commonwealth it is quite willing that the individual shall make a living by private efforts if he were able to do so. But of course he would not be able to gain an income from ownership of land and capital, because these would be public property. Socialism expects to provide for education as is done at present ; but it does not

Personal
Freedom Under
Socialism

purpose on that account to prevent any one from having a private school. Socialism proposes a medical organization for the benefit of all, but this should not prevent a physician from engaging in private practice if he desired to do so and could find persons who preferred his services to those of the public physicians. While socialism, therefore, would not limit the freedom of individuals in these and other respects, it holds that men would find it to their advantage to have a share in the public production, and so would work with the others in the socialistic community for the common good.

On analyzing the doctrines of socialism we find that they naturally divide themselves into four main elements, or principles, as follows :

1. The ownership by the people as a whole of the machinery, the land and the capital ;
2. The operation or management of all industries by the people acting, under a form of coöperative government, for the benefit of society in general ;
3. The distribution, by some common authority, of the income resulting from the profits of the general management of all production ;
4. Private control of the annual share of each

**Socialism's
Four Elements**

individual arising from common ownership of all industries; and private ownership of those goods which are used for personal enjoyment and not for renting or leasing to others in order to gain personal riches.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM

Now what would Green's lot have been had he lived under a socialistic government? In order to settle this question we must look forward into the future, and take it for granted that socialism has been adopted in all its completeness as the only remedy for the ills that affect humanity.

Let us suppose, then, that all the conditions of to-day in trade and politics—in the methods of buying and selling and in the system of government—have been as completely dispensed with as if they had never been.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

Instead of a society divided into classes—the very rich, a large middle class in moderate circumstances, and the very poor—we find a vast army of laborers all working for one great business corporation—the Coöperative Commonwealth.

No longer are there private businesses of any

kind to bring to some wealth and power, to others moderate success and prosperity, and to still more disappointment or ruin. No longer does one class prey upon another class. No longer do dishonest men take advantage of the needs and necessities of the people to enrich themselves. Hunger and physical misery exist no longer in the land. From the brightest man to the dullest, all are sure of an equal chance to enjoy not only the comforts and necessities of life, but such luxuries as they desire.

Does the fact that the nation now stands in place of all companies, large and small, the corporations, the syndicates, and the great trusts for which the people formerly worked, account for this desirable state of things? Not wholly. It is because, while the people are employees of the nation, they themselves are equal partners in the national corporation. Sharing alike in the products of all its many activities, in working for it they are working for their own best good.

Born under socialism, Johnny finds his lot not essentially different from that of other boys. If his father is a carpenter it is because he seems

best fitted for that trade. Should he wish at any time to become something more than a carpenter, nothing but his own unfitness for whatever he may wish to be can prevent his rise to higher occupations.

But while he is a simple carpenter, and may always remain so, he is not looked down upon by those whose work is of the brain and not of the hands, as is now often the case. This is true even of the common laborer. While pursuing an humble occupation he still has all the rights and privileges of his fellow men, and is respected accordingly. While the world lasts there must always be those who are better fitted for physical labor than for mental effort, and under socialism the labor of the hands would be regarded as equally important as the labor of the brain.

And everything would be done to make even the most common forms of labor easy and pleasant. The opposition to new inventions now often shown by employers because of the changes and large first cost necessary would be done away with, as the expense would fall equally upon all. So, too, the workers would no longer fear that the adoption

The Changed
Viewpoint

Use of
Inventions

of labor-saving machinery might result either in entire loss of work or in lower wages. Under socialism, all would share with the rest of the community in the advantages gained by such improvements in working methods, and there would probably be a large increase in the number of inventions and discoveries.

GOODS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO DESIRES

If Green lived in a more modest house and had fewer luxuries than his neighbor, it would be because his desires were moderate and he cared little for useless luxuries.

In the Coöperative Commonwealth, the fact that one man lived in a cottage and another in a mansion would give no indication of his circumstances, but only of his tastes. Much the same thing happens now among men of equal wealth. One millionaire has a great love for display; he likes to show the visible evidences of his riches. His residence is more imposing and costly than that of those whose circumstances are as good as his. It may be situated in the suburbs, surrounded by extensive grounds. He may find his principal delight in the raising of blooded cattle, or in the cultivation of rare flowers or fruits. His partner,

on the contrary, may be content to stick to the city residence which he occupied when his wealth was not so large as it has since grown to be, and find satisfaction in filling his home with costly pictures from overseas or with rare old volumes representing a small fortune.

Under socialism there would be just as much difference in tastes and desires as at present. It is not sought to give to each man the same sort of a house, the same sort of furniture, and the same kind and number of luxuries. But it is sought to give him as large an amount of the comforts and necessities of life as any of the rest enjoy; and as many of the luxuries as he cares for.

GREAT PRIVATE LUXURY DISCOURAGED

Green's house, under a successful socialistic government, would probably be far better and more convenient and comfortable than that of the laborer of to-day.

Improved
Home Life

Nevertheless, it is the aim of socialism to discourage great private luxury, as tending to set aside an unnecessarily large amount of material wealth for the selfish satisfaction of the few, while it favors a large increase in those

things which add to popular enjoyment and pleasure.

In the Coöperative Commonwealth the amount of the nation's wealth remaining over the cost of industrial operations and the full satisfaction of the needs and reasonable desires of the people, would be spent for the good of all. Beautifully laid out pleasure grounds and parks, fine public libraries, splendid art museums, free theatres and schools, the best highways, baths, and the most attractive public buildings—all these are held by socialists to be none too good for the people, and under the new industrial system would be amply provided for. At the same time, it is expected that each one's share of the yearly profits would be more than enough to give to his home life all those things now enjoyed only by a few. Anything that Green wanted that others had he could readily obtain, for his ownership of the national products would be the same as theirs.

For the
Use of All

ABSENCE OF THE CLASS FEELING

As a boy Johnny would have just as many suits of clothes as other boys, and of just as good a quality. There would be none to look down

upon him because of any lack of material possessions. His express wagon would be just as good as Billy Jones's, and he would have just as many toys as he cared for. As he grew older he could hold his head just as high as the rest, for his parents would stand on the same footing as the parents of other boys.

INCOME NOT DEPENDENT UPON TRADE CONDITIONS

The condition of his father's trade would have little or nothing to do with the amount of the family income. In case of a decrease
Work for All in demand for work at carpentry, the hours of labor for all carpenters would be shortened accordingly so as to keep each man at work. No doubt, in case of over-production, the workers in one trade would be, for the time being, drafted into other service, until operations in their own trade again became brisk. At all times it would be the endeavor of the officers of the government—officers chosen by the people for their fitness as managers—to so regulate demand and supply that there would be no over-production and no lack of work for all able bodied members of society.

PUBLIC CARE IN CASE OF ILLNESS

In case Johnny's father became sick he would still continue to draw his part of the yearly profits of the entire nation, and the loss of his services to society and the expense of his sickness would be borne by all. He would have at his call a public doctor and a public nurse, whose reward like his own would consist of a share of the profits of the national industries. Fear of poverty would cause him no anxiety during his illness, and his mind would also be free from worry about the fate of his family in case of his death. If he failed to recover, his funeral expenses would be borne by the public, and his share of the public income would be paid to his wife and children.

FREEDOM OF CHILDREN DURING THE
SCHOOL AGE

Under such conditions child labor would be unknown. Whether his father were sick or ill, Johnny could still attend school.

^{No}
Child Labor Because of better care, food, and more healthful home conditions, the vast number of children who now die annually simply from lack of these things, would be saved

for future lives of usefulness in the public service. During the school age no labor would be required ; and if Green desired a higher education than that of the common schools and had the necessary intelligence, the way would be open for him. Any special talent shown by him for the arts or sciences would be encouraged, and he would have every opportunity to cultivate it in special schools provided for that purpose.

ART AND SCIENCE UNDER SOCIALISM

It seems certain that music, art and literature would flourish as never before. Freed from the necessity of saving for support in

Their Increased
Importance

old age, a man could develop talents now, in many cases, left undeveloped.

A person showing great talent for any of the arts would probably be given his freedom from other duties, so as to make the most of his natural gift. His work would be regarded as important in its way as that of those in trades and professions, because it would add to the enjoyment and pleasure of all mankind. What would the world of our day be without books, pictures, and music? Very dull and commonplace, would it not? And yet present industrial conditions are unfavorable

to the finest development of these things, which thrive best in an atmosphere of comfort, contentment, and leisure. It is because of a knowledge of this fact that socialism meets with so much favor among painters, poets and authors. Art is for the masses and not merely for the millionaire, but the masses must have opportunity to fully appreciate and enjoy it before it becomes as important as the constant struggle to make a living is to-day. When the people are free to cultivate their love for such things, and when men of real talent are no longer obliged to give the most of their time to the mere business of getting a living, then art and science will reach their highest stage of development.

CHAPTER VII

LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM (*Continued*)

ON his approach to manhood Green would attach himself to that trade or profession which most appealed to him. A man gives his best services to that which he likes and can do best, and it would be for the interests of society as a whole, as well as his own, to place him in the position most suited to his natural ability and desires. There might be, indeed, an experimental period during which, when coming of age, all men would work as common laborers, and pass upward into the higher occupations as they showed ability for better things.

The Choice
of Work

THE NATIONALISTIC SCHEME

Mr. Edward Bellamy, in his socialistic system as revealed in his books "Looking Backward" and "Equality," imagines future society to be divided into a great industrial army. This

consists, first, of the grade of common laborers, assigned to the more ordinary kinds of work. To this grade all young men, during their first three years as workers, belong.

Second, the apprentices, or men who are mastering the first elements of their chosen vocations.

Third, the main body of the full workers, being men between twenty-five and forty-five years.

Fourth, the officers, from the lowest who have direct charge of the men, to the highest, or managers.

The unclassified workers of the first class are supposed to be in a sort of school, learning industrial habits. During the first quarter of his year of apprenticeship, the laborer becomes familiar with the principles of his vocation ; and on the last three-quarters the quality of his work determines in which grade among the workers he shall be enrolled on becoming a full workman. In trades which cannot be fully learned in a year, the apprentice falls into the lower grades of full workmen and works upward as he grows in skill.

The full workmen are divided into three grades,

according to efficiency, and each grade into a first and second class, so that there are in
Graded Labor all six classes, into which men are drafted according to their ability. The men are regraded yearly, so that merit never need wait long to rise.

Under this, or a similar system, each one would naturally find his proper place, and the knowledge that he could rise into a higher grade of work by increased intelligence and skill would act as a spur upon his ambition.

Mr. Bellamy believes that occupations which are especially disagreeable and are not therefore likely to attract many to them could
An Objection be made attractive by granting for them a shorter working day. In like manner, should the number offering themselves for any one pursuit be larger than required to satisfy the demand for such services, the working day could be lengthened to make the work less attractive. He thinks that this plan would work equally well with all occupations, but some socialistic writers disagree with him because of the vast number of occupations which are necessary. Says one: "How could the supply of the higher positions in the socialistic state be made

to equal the demand by changing the working day? To ask the question is to answer it. Many occupations now require, and should under any system require, if they are to be carried on satisfactorily, the full strength and time of those who are engaged in them. Moreover, the interests of society demand that there should not be a free selection of occupations, so far as the most influential and desirable occupations are concerned, but those should have these positions who are best fitted to follow them. It would seem that it would be necessary to proceed more in accordance with the principles which now govern the selection of public servants, where the civil service has attained a condition of excellence.”¹

He believes that even this presents certain difficulties which have not yet been solved.

Be that as it may, it is certain that in the Co-operative Commonwealth, Green's life would be far happier and freer from anxiety than is the workman's life to-day.

ABSENCE OF PRESENT TROUBLES

In the first place, there would be no strikes,

¹ Richard T. Ely, in "Socialism and Social Reform."

because each man would be sure of the just reward of his labor. As a rule, the hours of labor would probably be shorter than at present, and the hours for rest, recreation, and self-improvement therefore longer.

Strikes and
Other Evils

There would be no lay-offs because of over-production, because production would be regulated to satisfy needs only.

There would be no "cornering" of the necessities of life, in order to make prices higher for the personal profit of a few.

Under the present condition of things, what those who control production want is not abundance of commodities, but large values. To obtain these they sometimes limit the supply of goods which the people cannot do without. Nowadays producers of such commodities as fruits have been known to destroy a share of them in years when fruits were plenty, in order to keep up values. And cotton raisers also, in years of great cotton production, have seriously tried to find means to limit the supply of cotton. They wish nature to be generous, but not too generous.

As Professor Ely puts it: "So full of contra-

dictions is our present economic order, that men must go without coats because too much clothing has been produced, and children must go hungry because the production of grain has been overabundant. As the socialists have said, with some measure of truth, 'Under civilization poverty is born of plenty.' ”

Where all worked together for the common good, there would be none of the enormous wastes of wealth, time and effort caused by competition. Under the present system where each is striving for himself, these wastes are necessary.

In order to sell his goods a manufacturer must now spend large sums for advertising, or employ agents to travel over the country and induce the retail merchants to handle his products. Sometimes he does both. The cost of this advertising and of the salaries and expenses of traveling men must be made up somehow. The producer therefore sells his goods at prices large enough to cover these expenses and give him a handsome profit. The merchant to whom he sells must also make a profit. Sometimes, too, there is a third party to be considered—the middleman—who stands between the manufacturer and the retailer.

At least two and sometimes three profits are therefore added to the first cost of the article.

Take the case of typewriters, for example. It is said that the best typewriting machines can be made at an actual cost of less than
A Striking Example twenty-five dollars; they sell for one hundred dollars. Why the difference? Simply because the manufacturing company must get enough for its machines to pay all the expense of manufacture, the cost of maintaining agencies in various large cities, and besides a large return.

If, instead of selling through agencies of his own, the manufacturer sells to a middleman or direct to the retailer, he often makes it a condition of sale that a certain price shall be put upon his product wherever it is sold.

Thus the manufacturer of a new safety razor, the actual cost of making which is said to be
Profits about sixty cents, has an agreement with retailers of this article that it shall never be sold under five dollars. Whether buyers obtain it direct from him or from a retail dealer, the price is the same. By making such an agreement the producer prevents the cutting of prices and makes sure of a large

profit so long as the article is in demand. Of course where he sells direct to the people there is no dealer's profit to be considered and his own return is larger. But he is willing to give the dealer a chance because through him he can put the article more widely before the country, resulting in larger sales. If the dealer cuts the price the manufacturer simply refuses to supply him with further goods. Thus the dealer is at the mercy of the manufacturer, and the people are at the mercy of both, even though the profits demanded by the manufacturer are unreasonable.

Under socialism, these and other articles would be sold direct to the people at the actual cost of manufacture or nearly so.

Socialism would also do away with the chance of success or failure which now plays a large part in business. With production carried on according to a regular system by the people as a whole, and not each for himself as at present, the "hit or miss" way of doing business would be a thing of the past. Production in all lines would be so planned as to supply the needs of the people only—in other words, the actual demand. With production and manufacture combined on a vast

Chance Eliminated

scale under the management of the nation, the amount of demand likely for any given product or article could be as readily foreseen and provided for as it is now easy for the insurance companies to tell how many deaths will occur within a year among a certain number of people. Although nothing is so uncertain as life and death as regards a single person, experience has shown that the number of deaths occurring among so many thousands of people, in so long a time, is very regular.

Likewise, while it is uncertain how large a supply of any one product will meet the demands of a small portion of the community for a given length of time, it is possible to estimate about how much the entire population of a country will require during the same period.

At present a business man may think there is a demand for a certain line of goods where no real demand exists or it is already fully supplied by others. If he manufactures or lays in a supply of such goods and fails to dispose of them, the result is disappointment and financial loss—not only to himself but to society in general, because the money and effort which he might have put into

Present Uncertainty of Demand

things of benefit to all have been wasted. Multiply one instance of this kind by the thousands of business failures which occur every year under our present commercial system and it is easy to see how large a waste is caused by misdirected energy.

This element of chance is also present in the growing of natural products. The expected large wheat crop in Minnesota may be destroyed by a hot, dry summer, or by too cold and too wet weather. The result to the wheat growers is large loss and sometimes utter despair and poverty, besides the waste of a whole summer of hard labor.

While socialism could not of course change the weather conditions, the farmer, being an equal sharer with the rest in all the profits of the nation's industries, would not have to depend upon the success of his crops for support, and his lot in this respect alone would therefore be far easier than that of the tiller of the soil to-day. The wheat that he, in his section of the country, might fail to raise for a season, might be abundant enough elsewhere to more than make up the difference.

**The Farmer's
Greater Inde-
pendence**

So with other products. Taking the country as a whole, nature can usually be relied upon to produce enough of any one thing to fully meet the needs of the people year after year, however much the quantity may differ in different sections. Doubtless with the increased use of machinery to lighten labor conditions, farming would be as easy and pleasant as any other occupation, thus attracting to it a large number of people. With plenty to help, the soil would probably be more highly cultivated and the crops far larger and better than at present.

L. O. F. C.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM (*Continued*)

UNDER socialism Green would have no taxes to pay. Taxation now is necessary in order to raise the means to pay the running expenses of the government, and the cost of public improvements. In the Coöperative Commonwealth the total amount necessary could be deducted from the annual receipts of the nation, and the remainder alone be distributed among the people.

While the yearly income of Green and his fellows would probably never equal that of the present day millionaire, owing to the necessity of dividing the national funds among so many, yet if socialism proved successful, it would be far larger than that which even the most prosperous laboring man can hope to gain under present conditions by labor alone. With all that makes life really worth living amply provided for, huge incomes would be unnecessary.

As it is now, neither the millionaire nor the working man can rest secure in the thought that

he will always be able to provide the needs and necessities of life.

Although the laborer is often disposed to envy his rich employer, the latter has troubles of his own. The greater his fortune the harder he must work to hold it. **Unhappy Millionaires** The riches he has piled up may be swept away by a crisis in the money market or by unwise speculations. A larger producer coming into his field may ruin his business, or strikes and labor troubles may reduce his wealth to moderate figures. Under socialism he would be free from the fears which now beset him, and might perhaps even welcome the change, if his income were smaller than it is now.

If all were on the same level there would be none of these troubles. After all, money cannot buy happiness and freedom from care. It can only insure a good living, and the chance to obtain that which one desires in the way of comforts, luxuries and amusements. Given all these under a reliable socialistic system, and the reason for piling up huge fortunes at once disappears.

LEARNED PROFESSIONS UNDER SOCIALISM

The learned professions—teaching, medicine,

and the ministry—would also profit by socialism. In the first place the field would not be so crowded. Many young men now take up professions for which they are unsuited simply to escape the unpleasant conditions attached to mechanical trades, and because the earnings of successful professional men seem large as compared with the earnings in other callings. This, under socialism, where incomes would be equal and the harder lines of labor made more attractive, might cease.

It will be noticed that law is not mentioned. The omission is made purposely because socialists claim that, in the Coöperative Commonwealth, there would be little need for law or lawyers.

Under present conditions the larger number of ordinary crimes arise from poverty or a desire to make money faster than can be done honestly. Aside from these, most of the cases that are fought out in the courts are based on disputes over private property. With common ownership and equal treatment the motive for such disputes would be removed, and all the mass of laws now passed to cover such matters would be needless.

In proof of these claims, socialists point out

**Fewer Laws
Required**

the fact that the publicly owned post-office seldom figures in law suits. The laws concerning it are few and simple, when compared with those regarding the privately owned railroad or street railway which, for one cause or another, is constantly before the courts. In this connection, it may also be pointed out that the postal service is much better and quicker than the service of privately owned express companies.

So, too, laws concerning corporations and the relations of labor and capital would be needless, because the private corporation would no longer exist, and all alike would be laborers and sharers in the nation's capital.

It is expected also that, with poverty and physical misery done away with, the moral condition of the whole community would be raised. Human nature is at the bottom good, and much of the envy, hatred and strife aroused by the present hard struggle for comfortable existence would pass away.

BENEFITS OF SOCIALISM TO WOMEN

The relations of men and women would also be on a far better and purer basis than at present. Women would share equally with men in all the

advantages of the new order of things. She would, in fact, enjoy all the rights and privileges of her husband, sons and brothers. Like them she would labor, but not at tasks unsuited to her or that would in any way blunt her finer instincts. If she married, it would be for love and not for support, wealth, or position.

No longer would she be obliged to sell body and soul in order to get the means to live, as many thousands now do because other ways are closed to them.

A Cure for the
Social Evil

The vast army of miserable and unhappy women who nightly walk the streets of our large cities would consequently disappear, and the terrible problem of the social evil, with all the evils that it brings in its train, would be solved.

Woman's independent position would give man a greater respect for her, and the knowledge that she need marry only for love would force him to measure up to her standard of manhood. Free to wait until the right man presented himself, and doubtless free also to express her own preference without being considered immodest, happy marriages would be the rule rather than the exception.

Under such circumstances divorces would be

rare and family life would be far better and purer than it is to-day. Doubtless household cares and labor would be greatly lessened by more convenient and more comfortable homes and the use of simple machines to perform the harder and more disagreeable tasks. Born wholly of love and under comfortable conditions of life, the children resulting from such unions would be an honor to their parents and to the race.

If a woman desired for any reason to remain single, she could do so without worry or anxiety for the future. While at first it might be thought that this independence of women might lead to fewer marriages, it will be seen upon reflection that the contrary would probably be the case.

For while the reason for many marriages nowadays—the desire for support, wealth or position—would be done away with, ^{More Marriages Probable} young men who now desire to marry, but do not dare to do so because of poor circumstances or the uncertainty of steady work, would, under socialism, no longer have reason to hesitate.

The greater independence of women, therefore, would be offset by the removal of the chief objection to marriage made at present by men who

would like to marry if they thought they could afford to do so. There need be no fear that woman, in her new position of independence, would lose her desire for marriage, because, happily, the attraction of sex and the instincts of love and motherhood are planted too deeply in her nature by an all wise Creator for that. While in many cases she now refuses a man whom she would willingly marry if his prospects were brighter, under socialism she would gladly follow the pleadings of her heart and make him and herself happy.

TRADE UNDER SOCIALISM

The reader may be curious to know how Green would obtain his supplies under the Coöperative Commonwealth, and how he would pay for them.

On this point there is considerable uncertainty even among socialists themselves. But in a general way it can be asserted that he would doubtless obtain whatever goods he needed from large central supply houses.

But what would he give in exchange? Would money be used as at present, or would that lose its value and usefulness with the passing away of the old order of things?

The more extreme socialists believe that, under their system, there would be no need of money ; and that all purchases could be made by means of labor checks showing the amount of labor time put in by those who held them. This labor time would represent value in goods. Inasmuch as all able-bodied members of society would be obliged to work and in most trades the hours would be the same, all would be treated fairly, and the amount standing to the credit of one would be the same as that of another.

For those dangerous or disagreeable callings for which even shorter hours were granted as an inducement to enlist in them, probably the value of the work would be rated higher, so as to make the amount even with that of persons who actually performed more work in lighter and pleasanter occupations.

Edward Bellamy, in "Looking Backward," gives an account of a credit system without the use of money, worked out in all its details. By his system, at the end of each year the amount of the nation's wealth is determined. Then, after the necessary sums have been set aside to carry out

The Nationalistic
Credit System

public improvements and support the helpless and weak, the remainder is divided by the number of the population, and the result shows the amount of the citizen's personal credit. A credit-card is then issued to every citizen for such amount, represented by the old terms of dollars and cents. On this the prices of goods purchased are stamped as they are made throughout the year. In case a person uses up the entire amount before the year is out, he may draw on his next year's credit to a limited extent; but this practice is not to be encouraged, and all extravagance is frowned upon.

Say, for instance, that the individual share for a certain year is found to be \$4,000. A credit-card is then issued to every person for that amount. So long as he keeps within that amount, a man may buy what he pleases. This allows him the same freedom in the use of his credit as is allowed him now in the use of his earnings. In case he does not use all his credit during the year, the rest is simply marked off. Thus each man starts the year on the same footing as his neighbors.

While \$4,000 may seem only a drop in the bucket to the present-day millionaire, who thinks

nothing of spending as much on a single article or for a single night's pleasure, to most working men it would be more than sufficient to supply him with all that he needs or cares for.

It must be remembered, too, that in an age where goods were sold at cost, the purchasing power of four thousand dollars would be much greater than it is now. Many of those things also which are now a drain upon the private purse would be free—for instance water, light, music, news, postal, telegraph and telephone messages, means of travel, express and freight services, amusements, medical services, and higher education.

Of course, this sum is only taken for an example of the working out of such a system. In years of great national prosperity it might be more, and at other times even less. But whatever it was each one would have the satisfaction of knowing that his income was as large as that of any one else. As human nature is constituted, this in itself would be a source of contentment; for discontent often arises merely from a desire to be as well off as the next man. It is the object of socialism to avoid both individual poverty

Greater Purchasing Power Under Socialism

and individual possession of great wealth. This is in harmony with Agur's prayer (Proverbs 30 : 8, 9): "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me. Lest I be full, and deny Thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

In a successful Coöperative Commonwealth there would be neither physical misery, nor wicked waste of money for unnecessary things and costly and often evil pleasures. Likewise, there would be no idle rich and no idle poor. The world would be the gainer thereby, and mankind, as a whole, far better and happier than at present. Of course, in Mr. Bellamy's system labor-time checks are not necessary, as each man's credit is based, not upon the number of labor hours he works, but upon the total amount of the nation's products.

Neither Waste
Nor Misery

More moderate socialists, however, do not think that either system would work out successfully. They say that the most natural way would be to continue our present monetary system in an improved form. They admit, however, that this would, in some degree, prevent that perfect equality for which the more extreme social-

ists are striving; but believe that with all the land, machinery, and the greater part of the capital under public control, the difference between the amount of Green's personal wealth and that of Brown would not be so great as to cause either to feel that he was not treated fairly.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM (*Concluded*)

IT is not to be supposed that socialism could do away with all physical suffering. Among Green's fellow citizens, even in the Coöperative Commonwealth, there would undoubtedly be some who could work little if at all because of natural defects—for instance, the weak, the lame, the simple-minded, and the sick—although under the improved conditions of living it is safe to expect that the number of these would not be so large as at present. How then would these be provided for?

**The Dependent
Classes**

Nowadays they are obliged to depend for existence either upon private charity, often given to them grudgingly by relatives or friends, or upon public charitable societies, supported by taxation or contributions from the well to do.

Although such charitable associations do an

immense amount of good, they often carry on their work in a soulless, business-like way that fails to reach the most deserving cases. Many such suffer in want and misery nearly all their lives. They are usually looked upon as useless members of society who have only as much claim upon the care and attention of the rest as the rest see fit to give them.

Charity Then
and Now

Under socialism, in which all men because of their common interest and ownership would be drawn close together, the brotherhood of man would be very real. In fact, that is one of the greatest things which the socialist hopes to bring about. His motto is "One for all ; all for one," instead of each for himself, as at present.

Socialism's
Motto

In the Coöperative Commonwealth no one would be allowed to suffer from want or lack of care, nor would the aid given to the helpless be regarded as merely charity. They would be regarded as having as much right to share in the advantages and benefits of the new order as their abler brothers. Those who were unable to work from any cause would have a sure income guar-

anted to them, because of the fact that they were members of the great human family.

Mr. Bellamy beautifully brings out this idea when he makes one of the characters in "Looking Backward" say that those able to work are able to produce more than so many savages because of the knowledge, machinery, and strivings of the race for thousands of years. Each generation can add only a small part to the general knowledge and experience of all, which alone makes possible the great amount and variety of production to-day.

And as all this has come down to the race as a whole, so all the race, and not merely the stronger part of it, has an equal claim upon the value of the products thus made possible. What, he asks, referring to present conditions, did you do with the share of these unfortunate and crippled brothers? "Did you not rob them when you put them off with crusts, who were entitled to sit with the heirs, and did you not add insult to robbery, when you called the crusts charity?"

From this it will be seen that, while it is the plan of socialism that each should give to the common welfare whatever services he is able to.

The Racial
Inheritance

it does not believe that any one should be allowed to suffer for lack of anything necessary to his health and happiness.

TRAMPS AND IDLERS

You may remember that, in a previous chapter, in describing the conditions of to-day, it was related how Green went tramping one summer. Would he be allowed to do so under socialism? No. Because all idleness would be discouraged, and there would be neither the idle rich from choice, nor the idle poor from choice or necessity.

Tramps not
Allowed

Under a system in which there was work for all, it can well be imagined that tramps would find little aid or sympathy.

Tramps are now able to exist in idleness because, for one reason, of the general feeling that most of them are tramps through no fault of their own, but simply because they cannot get work they could do; and for another, because they are looked upon as a necessary evil which cannot be cured. If we knew that there was always labor enough for all, and that those who were tramps were so wholly from choice, the feeling would

The Present
Feeling

quickly change, and the "knights of the road" would be forced to work in order to live at all. This is what would happen under socialism.

It is expected, too, that in a perfect Coöperative Commonwealth, few if any men would feel a desire to live in idleness. Surrounded by a community every able-bodied member of which was doing his or her own part toward providing the material benefits which he desired to share, a man would have to be pretty hardened not to feel ashamed if he did not take hold with the rest.

Now there is no such system for sharing work and material products, and where so many who do work are poorly paid and badly treated, it is perhaps natural that some prefer the free, careless life of the highway, so long as they get enough to eat by begging, to the slavery of shop and mill.

* * * * *

From all this it will be seen that Green and his fellows would profit immensely under socialism, if it worked out as well in practice as socialists think it would. But would socialism be as successful in full operation as its followers say?

That is a question that can only be answered to the satisfaction of all by actual trial. There are always those who see in new and untried systems of government dangers and difficulties where perhaps none exist. At the beginning of the American nation the friends of the Constitution brought about its adoption by all the thirteen original States only by the greatest efforts. "There was hardly a feature of it," says Martin's "Civil Government in the United States," "that escaped criticism; and its most important provisions were subject to opposition on the most diverse grounds. Experience has shown how groundless were most of the fears, and how absurd were many of the objections." Who shall say that the same may not be true of socialism? At any rate, if even one-third of its promises are faithfully fulfilled, the world will be a far more comfortable place, and the conditions of life and labor for the average man far better than they are to-day.

CHAPTER X

FORMS OF SOCIALISM

IN describing the benefits and advantages to be expected in a Coöperative Commonwealth we have given the ideas of socialists in general without, for the most part, going into detail as to the differences of belief existing among socialists themselves as to the best methods of practice to reach the end desired by all. To arrive at a full understanding of the subject we must now learn something of the various forms under which socialistic ideas have been given to the world.

To begin with, any idea or scheme to improve present business conditions along the lines of a change in the order of society is socialistic in nature. But modern socialism is different from older socialistic schemes because it believes that success can only be gained by changing the order or plan of society as a whole.

In other words, it does not think that it is best for those who believe in socialism to draw apart from the rest and live by themselves. It is this

which marks the slight difference between socialism and communism.

COMMUNISM

As a general thing, communism calls upon men to separate themselves from the rest of mankind and to work together in villages or communities, sharing the profits of their work with each other, just as they would do in the larger coöperative wealth.

At different times within the last hundred years or more people have tried to live together in such communities, but not with much success.

Socialists say that this is not because the idea is wrong, but because such plans were tried on too small a scale. These communities were not large enough to get along without trading with the outside world, where the business system was entirely different. As the two systems are entirely at odds with each other the weaker, in point of wealth and number of followers, must fail. Although the inhabitants of a communistic village agree to work together and share the profits of their work with each other, they are still under the rule of a government which does not believe in such sharing.

Although they may not believe in taxes, for instance, and own their land in common, still they must pay taxes to the State in which they are located. The products or goods which they cannot raise or make themselves they must pay for or get by trading with the outside world, under a system of business profit which they do not believe in. In these and other ways they are hindered from making the most of their plan of life, as they would not be if all people believed in the coöperative community.

Then, again, the change is too great for many of them. The community may be made up of men who have worked at trades or professions for which there is no demand in their new life. A machinist may be a very good machinist, but a mighty poor farmer because he does not like farming.

Because the community usually starts in a small way and in an unsettled section of the country, the raising of crops and cattle is about the only thing which those in such a community can do, at least at first. The machinist and other men like him, who have always been used to the work of large cities, therefore find themselves of little use and may grow tired of a life

that seems to them dull and uninteresting, even though the struggle is not so hard as they have found it outside.

If the entire country was ruled by a socialistic government, such men could still find work at their trades, for there would be as many different kinds of work as at present. But they would then receive an equal share of the profits of their work, as would every one.

Not being used to the simple life of a new community, many may also long for the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by those in the cities which they have left.

On account of these and other reasons most attempts at communism fail.

The true socialist believes that the only way to win success is to wait until socialism has gained such power that it can change the entire system of government, and in that he is undoubtedly right.

Socialism also differs from communism in not asking that everything shall be divided among the people; and also in not teaching that marriage and family life are wrong, as do most forms of communism.

FABIANISM

A form of socialism called Fabianism aims to bring about a change in the business system gradually under present State laws. The English Fabians and most American socialists, do not, in fact, talk about doing away with the State form of government. But both in England and the United States the government of the State is more largely in the hands of the people than in any other country, and so can be more easily made to serve the interests of all without changing it entirely.

The chief difference between the Fabians and ordinary socialists seems to be this: The socialists expect some day to become so powerful as to elect socialist law-makers who will bring about the desired changes; while the Fabians hope, by watching every chance in their favor, to change the laws one at a time and bring about in the end the complete control of the government by the people and for the people. The Fabian Society of England is made up of a larger number of educated men than perhaps can be found in any other society of socialists.

NATIONALISM

This kind of socialism was started here in America by Edward Bellamy in 1888. His books, "Looking Backward" and "Equality," give in story form his ideas regarding the control of all industry by the nation.

In a preceding chapter we have already sketched his plan for dividing humanity into a great industrial army, and a full understanding of the subject may be obtained from the books named. It need only be added that the central thought in Nationalism is democracy in industry—that is, complete control by the people.

At the present time we in the United States have such control in politics, however badly we exercise it, but industry is controlled by the capitalist and not by the people at large. The worker has no voice in the management of production and but little share in its profits. He must submit to the rule of the capitalist or quit his service. Socialists believe that political democracy cannot endure unless it goes hand in hand with industrial democracy, or control.

The two systems—the political and the industrial—are now completely opposed to each other, and this alone is enough to account for the fact

that pure political democracy has never been fully realized even in the United States. So long as men are driven by poverty or greed to sell their votes to the highest bidder, and so long as men of great wealth are able to bribe dishonest law-makers, just so long will government, even under the best democratic system that was ever devised, rest with the few and not with the many.

Although Nationalism at one time numbered thousands of intelligent men and women among its followers and upon its ideas was based the People's Party, afterward known as Populists, it has since lost its force as an important part of the socialistic movement. But while very little is heard of it nowadays, it did much to add to the number of socialists in this country, and to the efforts of the nationalists many good laws can be traced.

STATE SOCIALISM

Not all socialists believe in the extreme or revolutionary socialistic idea, which would overthrow all present forms of government in favor of a pure coöperative democracy, or commonwealth. The more moderate socialists support

what is called State Socialism. These do not look to a complete change in present government, but hope to bring about full control of all industrial operations by the state itself.

The word "state" does not here refer to the various divisions of the country, each with its own government but bound together under the Constitution in one great nation. As used by socialists the term has a broader meaning, referring to the whole body of people united under one government.

Thus the whole American Republic is a democratic state, because its rulers are chosen by the people. England, Germany, and other nations of Europe, are monarchical states, because ruled over by monarchs whose right to rule has come to them through custom and inheritance, and not through the direct choice of the people.

The earlier socialism did not always believe in giving full power of political control into the hands of the people; in other words, it was not necessarily democratic. Robert Owen, the founder of socialism in England, and Count Henry de Saint-Simon, an early French socialist (1760-1825), both called upon the powers already in control to pass laws for the general welfare of

the people. They were willing that the state should still govern if only it would give the people a greater share in the products of their industry. The term "State Socialism" to cover this idea originated in Germany, where it was regarded with favor by Bismarck.

Saint-Simon looked to royalty itself for assistance in carrying out his ideas for the betterment of industrial conditions. In his scheme of reform in France there was even a place for the King, who was to be called "The First Industrial of the Kingdom." In fact, it was then hoped that socialism would be introduced, not by the workers, but by the ruling classes.

His followers laid great stress upon the natural differences between men; and state aid, such as pensions for aged and disabled laborers, to be given by the already existing government, played a great part in their system. From this it will be seen that, in the beginning at least, State Socialism, while working for greater personal freedom and coöperation, and a fairer share in the results of labor, still favored a ruling power higher than the people themselves.

Nowadays, however, even the most moderate socialists look upon an increase in public owner-

ship and management of industry under the state as a proper plan of action only while the state lasts. They do not regard the state as likely to endure always, and believe that the greater public control of trade and production will naturally lead in time to the birth of a real social democracy or Coöperative Commonwealth.

While the Saint-Simonians believe in state ownership, instead of private ownership of property, they do not believe that labor's products should be divided equally among the members of society. They hold that men by nature are unequal, and that it is right to give more to men of great power or talent, when used for the general good, than to men of lesser talent or power. In other words, every man, they say, should be paid according to the value of his services and not with an equal share of the nation's earnings, as with Nationalism. But like the nationalists they wish to form society on the plan of an army.

It is not clearly stated in their writings how the ruling body of the state are to be selected, whether by popular vote or otherwise. Their idea seems to be that those best able to rule, the good and the wise, would be selected as leaders.

As all should start with equal advantages, they

do not believe that property should be inherited ; in the new society which they propose, property now inherited would become common property.

They do not believe in the equal division of property, for they hold that this would be directly against their teaching that each one should rank according to his capacity and be rewarded according to his works.

Like the Christians they demand that one man should be united to one woman, but they teach that the wife ought to be the equal of the husband, and should enjoy full rights with him in everything.

S O C I A L D E M O C R A C Y

The extreme socialists do not believe that state control of industry should be the end and aim of all their efforts. The result for which they are striving, can only be obtained, they say, by a complete change in the form of government. This change would be in the nature of a social democracy, or Coöperative Commonwealth. Every man and woman would then have a direct share in the management not only of trade and commerce, but of the affairs of the nation. All superintendents, foremen and officials under a

social democracy would be elected directly by the people.

With the exception of Owen and Saint-Simon and their followers, who, as we have already seen, favored state aid, socialism, even in its first stage, preferred willing coöperation of the people without state assistance. Etienne Cabet (1788–1856)—a French socialist who failed in an attempt to establish a socialistic community on the banks of the Red River in Texas, and afterward at the old Mormon Settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois,—and Charles Fourier (1772–1837), both believed that through such communities they could so demonstrate the advantages of socialism that very soon all men would join in the starting of like settlements, which could then be banded together in a common league.

But it remained for Karl Marx, the great leader of social democracy in Germany (1818–1883) and his follower, Liebknecht, to completely deny the teachings of state socialism. They held, however, that the state would be abolished, not by force but by man's efforts to overthrow the present social order, but by a natural process.

Marx favored the upholding of law and order under the belief that in time the end he worked

for could best be brought about by legal means, and that any revolution which might occur would come from the opposition of those who did not believe in social democracy. That is, he thought that when the triumph of socialism by lawful means becomes certain the supporters of the present industrial system will themselves start a revolution to prevent the change. But the more moderate socialists believe that all classes will gradually adjust themselves to the new system, so that no conflict will be necessary.

The followers of Marx, who by his important work, "Capital," influenced more than any other man the labor movement all over the world, have, then, no special liking for state ownership. But in spite of this fact socialist office holders here in the United States are usually instructed to vote for municipal ownership, probably on the principle that if the whole loaf cannot be at once obtained, half a loaf is better than nothing. It is doubtless believed, too, that by giving the government more and more power over industries which have been under private control, the time will come when the change to a social democracy will be easy.

The doctrines of Marx are held, in the main, by

the great body of socialists, and upon them are based to a greater or less degree the platforms of socialistic parties throughout the world.

He believed that, as production on a large scale has an advantage over small production, the large producers sooner or later must crush out the small producers until each branch of industry falls under the control of the few.

But meanwhile the wage-earners are brought together in ever increasing numbers ; they are, to use his own words, "schooled, united, and disciplined by the mechanism of the capitalistic processes of production." And he held that the sure result of this process would be such a piling up of wealth by the capitalists, and such a linking together of the working classes, that the system must break down of its own weight, and the laborers would gain possession of the means of production.

The key to Marx's teachings is his doctrine of value. According to this the thing that more than anything else gives value to goods is labor. In order to produce his goods, the employer has to pay wages to his workmen. Each workman, however, produces more goods than would sell for the

The Doctrine
of Value

amount paid for his work. The difference between what they will sell for and what is paid in wages Marx calls surplus value.

For instance, if it takes four hours to produce goods enough to amount to the workman's daily wage, during the remaining four hours of his labor day he is producing surplus value. The employer requires him to produce this additional value because he has hired his entire labor power. The laborer, therefore, is paid for only four hours' work, while he is, says the socialist, robbed of the other four hours' labor. The capitalist is able to rob the laborer of this amount simply because he owns the means of production—the machinery and the buildings in which the work is carried on. He therefore pockets the surplus value, and uses the capital thus made by the labor of others for his own pleasure or to enlarge his business for the purpose of making still greater profits.

Under this teaching all goods are looked upon only as the products of labor, which cost nothing but labor. Marx, however, shows the difference between goods whose value arises chiefly from their usefulness and those which, besides their

The Way
It Works

usefulness, have an added value as articles of trade or exchange. Many goods are very useful, but have no value as articles of exchange, because they are free to all.

It follows that only those goods have a surplus value which are produced by labor, and this surplus value is only possible because

**The Reason
Why** the laborer does not own the raw material from which the goods are made, nor the tools or machinery with which to make them. Those who do own the raw material and machinery refuse to give up the use of them unless they are given a share of the product. In actual fact, however, the employer takes all the goods and pays to the laborer his share in money. Because the laborer is poor and has himself, and perhaps a family, to support, he must take the share which the capitalist grants to him, although the goods that his work has produced are of much greater value. Under the present system this will always be so, and the laborer will never receive the full value of the goods he produces.

Under socialism, where the raw material, the machinery, and the buildings were owned by the people in common, each working man would re-

ceive the full value of his work during the entire labor day ; and there would then be no surplus value to go to another. In other words, in a social democracy the only way to obtain the fruits of labor will be by labor, of brain or hand, but always labor of some kind or another. There could then be no idlers or those living on the labor of others.

“But,” say those who do not believe in socialism, “the capitalist’s profits are the reward of his risks. He puts his money into an enterprise and takes his chances of getting it back. It is therefore no more than fair that his profits should be greater than those of the working man, who risks nothing and has no interest in the business after his day’s work is done.”

An Objection and
an Answer

To this the socialist makes reply : “This is the argument of a gambler pure and simple. If men must be paid in proportion to the risks they take, then we should wipe out every law against gambling and make the faro bank a lawful business enterprise. There is no particular merit in risking the money one already has to make more money, and very likely that which the capitalist has risked in carrying out a promising enterprise

is only a small part of his fortune. That fortune, too, may not have been made by his own efforts, but may have come to him through inheritance. Why should the mere fact that he has the means give him claim over the lion's share of the goods which, aside from his ownership of the raw material, the machinery and the shop, he has not worked to produce?"

A teaching closely connected with that of surplus value is that called "The Iron Law of Wages."

Iron Law
of Wages

According to this a working man's wages in the labor market are based not on what he produces, as we have already seen, but on what it costs for his support and enough besides to encourage him to marry and bring up children to become workers like himself.

That is, it takes so much meat, so much flour, so much butter, so much oatmeal, to make a working man and keep him going. It would not do to have the scale of wages very much below the cost of living, for there would then be no working men left.

A horse can be fed on sawdust, but on such fodder he would not grow fat, his working power would grow less, until he could not work at all,

and he would die. As it is for the owner's interest to feed his horse on oats, so it is for the capitalist's interest to give to the wage-earner enough to keep him alive and strong. The believers in social democracy claim that that is just what the capitalist does and all he does.

Therefore, the cost of support and not the value of the product governs the wages of the working classes, and under the present system no working man can hope to escape from this law in the long run.

One of Marx's most important doctrines is that relating to business panics. During "good times" manufacturers employ all the men, women, and children who will work for them. The working classes live well, and because there is plenty of work there are consequently more marriages. Then comes a business panic. Thousands of laborers are thrown out of work, and must either starve or be supported at public expense. Thus upon society at large is thrown the burden of keeping the workers—the manufacturer's tools—for him until he needs them again.

Those who are still at work are forced to take lower wages. When times become better the

employer is not obliged to raise these wages, because the vast army of those who have been thrown out are glad to get work again at any price. The great number of idle workers, therefore, which the panic has produced, becomes a means for making still more money for the capitalist.

Socialists believe that under a social democracy, or coöperative commonwealth, all these conditions would be changed. The worker would then receive the full value of all the goods he produced, and all would share alike in the national prosperity.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

About 1850 there sprang up in England a form of socialistic belief called Christian Socialism. Under this form socialistic principles are to be carried out along the lines of the teachings of Christianity. In other words, it is socialism with religion added as a matter of belief and business policy.

Before the formation of the English society, however, the idea had been put forward by a French priest named DeLemennais, who was born in 1782. He wished to make the Church the

front and head of the socialistic movement, and called upon the Pope and the clergy to "separate yourselves from the kings, extend your hand to the people." He hoped that the Church would found a grand coöperative society of laborers and thus free them from the yoke of the capitalist and the power of the landlord. These views did not suit the leaders of the Church, and he finally left it in despair.

This idea of coöperation along the lines of Christian brotherhood was at the bottom of the movement in England which, for a time, had a large following among high-minded and educated men. A society of Christian socialists was also started in the United States, but, as a society, no longer exists.

They held that all rights and powers are gifts of God, not for the receiver's use only, but for the benefit of all; that God is the source and guide of all human progress; that all social, political, and industrial relations should be based on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ; that the present commercial and industrial system is not thus based, but is based

on a system that gives the control of the natural products of the earth and the mechanical inventions of man to the few instead of the many.

In opposition to this system they held that united Christianity must work for a new social order by which all would benefit equally. They believed that the teachings of Jesus lead directly to some form or forms of socialism, and that in obedience to Him the Church must apply itself to the task of bringing about the new order in a peaceful way. So Christian Socialism means that the idea of brotherly love is to be carried into all the dealings of men, seven days in the week and in the shop and factory as well as in the church building.

As socialists are now content to let each man decide the matter of religion for himself, Christian Socialism as a separate movement has almost ceased to exist, but its principles are still held by many socialists.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIALISM VS. INDIVIDUALISM

OPPOSED to socialism is what is called Individualism, which is the doctrine of independence of action. In other words, it is the principle of acting according to one's own will or for one's own ends. That is, the individualist believes that each man can best work for himself alone. Lest this would seem to be pure selfishness those who hold this idea say that by fully satisfying the needs of each man, the welfare of all will best be secured.

But the socialists say that this idea is wrong, because man's interests are so joined together that humanity as a whole cannot be truly happy and successful so long as there is anywhere within its ranks suffering and misery. So long as there is a class of poor people who find it hard to get even a living, the great body of the human race can no more be in a sound condition than can a man whose arms or legs are useless. Whether we wish it or not we must, in a way,

be happy together and suffer together, for it is a law of human nature. We all act and react constantly upon each other, and the nature of our own condition, physical and mental, determines the quality of that action and reaction. As a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, so society as a whole is weak, so long as the happiness and good things of life are not within the reach of all.

The individualist would have the government let things take care of themselves. If a person is able to make a good living and even to become wealthy without breaking any law, well and good; if he is not able to make more than a mere existence and in old age finds himself in poverty and misery, well, says the individualist, that is no concern of the government, which should have nothing to do with the business affairs of the citizens.

On the other hand the socialist desires the government to act the part of a generous father to his children in all the relations of life. But anything like government provision for the welfare and future of the worker is viewed with horror by the individualist, who immediately raises the cry of paternalism. Now paternalism

is nothing more nor less than fatherliness. But the individualist does not want the government to become too fatherly, and therefore he is against old-age pensions, taxes on fortunes, laws against the trusts, and such measures as would tend to make the laborers' lot better and freer from care and anxiety.

Says the individualist: The present system is all right, because it promotes individuality.

Socialist: Whose individuality? And how much individuality is left to the working classes? Go to the gates of any of the shops or factories in our great industrial centres. See the operatives file out at the noon or the night hour. Men, women and children reduced to the dead level of the automatic machines at which they work. Tell me if you can how much individuality is left to the working class. Go to any factory village in New England. See the rows of houses all built on the same plan, all having the same shaped doors, the same size of windows, Noah's Ark houses built by the rod and sawed off by the yard in convenient lengths, all of them painted the same color, usually the color of the owner's stable. Tell me if you can whose individuality is being promoted, and how much is

there left in the life of the working man. I am a socialist because I am an individualist. I am a socialist because I believe that the very highest type of individual liberty is found in voluntary social coöperation. "We must learn the lesson of liberty and we must learn it through coöperation. We must learn the lesson of coöperation and learn it through liberty. Liberty and coöperation, now and forever, one and inseparable!"¹

Individualist: But socialism would destroy ambition. A man now works for success along a certain line because he feels that such success will bring him greater reward than he is now able to obtain. Give him the assurance, under socialism, that he is always sure of having as much as the rest, and you take away his ambition. Very likely he would work as little as possible, and would take little interest in that work.

Socialist: You reason entirely from the standpoint of money value or material prosperity. There are men even now who work, not for the reward of their work, but because of the pleasure they take in it. Consider the lives of men of genius, the great artists, the great musicians, the

¹ Adapted from Dr. Howard A. Gibbs.

great writers, the great poets, the great inventors. Many of these labor for years for success in their chosen fields, not so much for the comforts and luxuries that such success will give, but simply because they cannot help it, and can be content only when doing that which nature has fitted them to do. Many of them never achieve what the world calls great success; nevertheless, they are happy in making the most of the talent that God has given them. Some do achieve great fame and fortune after years of poverty and misery. Freed by socialism from the pangs of hunger and physical suffering, these men of God-given talent could devote themselves wholly to their chosen work. Because of this freedom from care and anxiety they would undoubtedly reach the desired end all the quicker. Besides, under socialism, it is not impossible that there might be a system of rewards that would be amply satisfying. Men even now feel honored by the Victoria Cross, not because of its value as a jewel, but because it shows superiority of a certain order. Real fame, too, cannot even to-day be bought with money, and a man would feel as much pleasure in obtaining that under socialism as he does now.

Individualist: Ah, but we are not speaking of genius or men of great talent. We are speaking of the common working man who has neither talent nor genius. The present system stimulates his ambition by holding out the idea of something to be gained by his work—a better position, wealth, more comforts and luxuries. It is mainly with the idea of obtaining these that he works.

Socialist: To some extent that is true. Many do work for fame and wealth; many more work without the hope of obtaining either, simply for the daily wage to keep body and soul together. More often than not the former do not obtain either wealth or commanding position. The latter perhaps earn a bare living by all their work, but little else. Under socialism they would have these anyway; but they would still work. Why? Because, in order to get these things they would have to. There would be no room for idlers. All would have to labor in order to live. But in a successful Coöperative Commonwealth all work would be much easier and pleasanter than at present, because machinery would perform many of the operations now done by hand. Man is naturally a working animal.

Except in rare cases he cannot be contented with idleness. Therefore, under conditions in which he knew that every stroke done counted for his own material welfare he would work cheerfully, where he now works sullenly to swell the profits of his employer and gain for himself a bare pittance.

You say that the present system stimulates ambition. Let me ask what kind of ambition does it stimulate? It says to the working man, If you will toil early and late and save up your hard-earned dollars, by and by you can possibly work yourself out of the ranks of the laboring class; by and by you can become a little landlord, a little business man, a little capitalist yourself. In other words, if you will be content to let the capitalist ride on your back, by and by you can begin to ride on some one's else back. If you will be content to be robbed, by and by you can become a little robber in your own account. This is the ambition which this system furnishes. It is not a stimulus to work, but a stimulus to beat your neighbor by fair means or foul in the race of life; it is not a stimulus to produce, but a stimulus to plunder; not a stimulus for a man to do his best or be his best, but simply a stimu-

lus to take advantage of some one else. Its motto is, "Each one for himself and the devil take the hindermost."

Individualist: It is foolish to talk of robbery in connection with the returns which capital rightly receives for its enterprise. Both profit and wages are the rewards of man's ability. Profits are also the rightful rewards of the risks the capitalist is willing to take. He puts his money into a business on the chance of getting it back again. Because of these facts is he not entitled to the lion's share?

Socialist: No, he is not. Do you honestly suppose that Mr. Rockefeller carries under his hat brains and ability so much in excess of the brains and ability of most of his fellow men as to enable him to really earn his annual income of \$4,800,000, while the average working man receives \$480 a year. If it is merely a matter of brains, Rockefeller's head would have to be as much larger to contain his, as his great income is larger than the pittance received by the common laborer. In appearance this would make him a monster like nothing so much as those curious inhabitants of Mars described by H. G. Wells in one of his stories as being all head and little or

no body. We know that this is not so. In size and shape Rockefeller's head is nothing out of the ordinary ; it can be matched, and more than matched, any day in the ranks of the common working man. Does natural ability alone account for his immense earning power ? Hardly, for who outside of a lunatic asylum believes that he has the ability of ten thousand working men of the four hundred and eighty-dollar class ? How then did he succeed in obtaining his immense income ? Read the history of the Standard Oil Company as given in Lloyd's " Wealth vs. Commonwealth," and Miss Ida M. Tarbell's revelations of the same concern. Read how it corrupted judges, bribed legislators, and caused the Goddess of Justice to hide her eyes in shame in both State and National courts ; read how, without mercy, it destroyed the business of honest competitors by means of secret arrangements with the railroads, and by force when all else failed, in order to build up its giant monopoly of the oil business. Read all this and then tell me, if you can, in what particular this ability differs from highway robbery. No, the difference between Mr. Rockefeller and the working man is only one of degree and opportunity. Under our

present system the ability of either counts for little unless he can find some one weaker than himself upon whom to exercise that ability.

Individualist: I am willing to admit that there are dishonest capitalists who have made immense fortunes by violent and unjust methods, but you forget that there are honest capitalists also—men who have been common working men themselves and have made their wealth by strict attention to business and shrewdness in the management of its every detail. There are no classes in this country and every man has the opportunity to rise if he has it in him.

Socialist: I will admit that there are honest capitalists, but they are not in the five million a year class. No man can make even a million dollars a year without robbing some of his fellow men of what is rightly theirs. You say that there are no classes in the United States. Let us consider the question a little. In order to have a class you must have a group of individuals who are bound together by common interests which are not the interests of individuals outside that group. Is it not a fact that the owners of capital form such a class in America? Do not the working people also form a similar class? Is not

the interest of the capitalist class, say, in the matter of the income tax, quite contrary to the interest of the laboring class? So with other things; the interests of the capitalists and the interests of the working men are directly opposed to each other. They therefore form two distinct classes, each having its own class feeling. You may deny this fact, but it is true, nevertheless.

You say that the opportunity to rise is still open to every man. This may have been so once, but the gateway of opportunity after opportunity has been closed, and closed for all time. Carnegie has shut the door in the faces of those who would take up the manufacture of steel; Rockefeller has closed it to would-be producers of oil; the sugar trust has locked it on sugar; the beef trust on animal food products; and the American Tobacco Company on tobacco. This is true of other lines of production and manufacture. Although ambitious young men still continue to be born in the working class, their chance to rise very high above their class has been taken away from them by those who were fortunate enough to be born half a century earlier.

Individualist: Well, even if it be granted

that the opportunity to rise is less to-day than it once was, the fact remains that the workers are better paid now than ever before, and that the great prosperity of the country makes it possible for every one to find work if he wants to work.

Socialist: Wages may be better than they were a few years ago, but the greater cost of living more than makes up the difference. But I deny the fact that no one need go without work if he really wants to find it. In spite of the country's prosperity there are still strong and able workers who are forced to live in idleness the greater portion of the time simply because work which they can do is not to be obtained. This was strikingly illustrated by the first few days' experience of the Free Employment Bureau, started under the laws and protection of the State of Massachusetts in the city of Boston in December, 1906. Up to noon of the second day eighteen hundred applications for work were received, and at that time there were still four hundred men and boys and one hundred and twenty-five women and girls waiting patiently in line to register. Admitting that a considerable number of the applicants came from people who were

already employed but desired something better, the records showed that the great majority applied because they were unemployed. While more young men than any other class appeared, it was a sad fact that many old men and women were among the applicants. Under socialism, both of these classes, the young and the old, would find tasks suited to their strength and ability. Instead of being obliged to look for work, the work would look for them. The success of this movement means the complete overthrow of the present wage system and the ills that spring from it—the inequality of reward and the uncertainty of opportunity to labor.

Individualist: How could you provide work for all? The supply of products and manufactured goods is already usually sufficient to meet all demands. To guarantee work to every one you would be obliged to largely increase production and manufacture. Would not this result in overproduction, and consequently enforced idleness for the workers during long periods? If the nation were required at such times to still guarantee the support of every one, it would speedily go into bankruptcy.

Socialist: Under the present system it might,

but under socialism no. You say that at present the supply of products and manufactured goods is sufficient for all demands. In a Co-operative Commonwealth a far larger product would be required than at present because then commodities would become free like air and water. At present the masses go without many things that would add to their comfort and happiness, simply because they cannot afford to purchase them. The national product would, under socialism, be for use and not for trading purposes or exchange. All forces would therefore work together for a large product, whereas at the present time powerful forces sometimes strive to keep down the supply in order to add to personal wealth by selling at higher prices. Make it possible for the people to satisfy all their needs and the demand would be so greatly increased that a nation of workers would hardly suffice to keep up with it. So long as physical wants remain there would be no reason why all labor and all capital should not be employed.

·Individualist: Hitherto you have considered socialism simply as a scheme to make better the condition of the wage-earner. What would you do with the present-day millionaires and the

great trust managers and capitalists in the new order of society ?

Socialist: Find places for them as we would for the workers. It is one of the strongest points of socialism that it takes in every one; it leaves no room for either a submerged tenth existing in hopeless poverty and misery or a capitalist class living on the labor of others. The millionaire and the capitalist would lose little that he now enjoys, except the control of a large fortune and the privilege of living in idleness. The millionaires and capitalists would be given positions in the new commonwealth suited to their abilities. The managers of great trusts and corporations, whose experience has given them great business capacity, could still exercise that capacity in the management of the nation's industries. The people themselves would simply step in and take the profits, but of course the managers would have a share in those profits. The sixty millions of dividends which the Standard Oil Company declares every year would be distributed among the people as a whole. The same would be true of the United States Steel Corporation. If the president of that corporation, at the time of the change, knew the steel business better

than any one else, he might become Secretary of the Department of Iron and Steel of the Coöperative Commonwealth. But as the President of a nation of nearly eighty million people works for \$50,000 a year, the Secretary of Iron and Steel must expect to have his salary cut accordingly. And not only would the people take to themselves the profits of national production and manufacture, but also the immense receipts which the capitalists to-day draw from rents, mines, factories, and all manner of enterprises. And in the day when the common man becomes the master, it will clearly be for his own interest to make the sum of human happiness far greater than it is now. No man will then work for a bare living wage, but every man will have work to do, and will be paid exceptionally well for doing it. Every man will then be able to marry, to live in healthful, comfortable quarters, and to have all he desires to eat, as many times a day as he wishes. The new order of things would not permit of the present life and death struggle for food and shelter.

Individualist: Your mention of marriage brings to mind one great objection which it seems to me would alone work against the success of

socialism. With guaranteed incomes and assured support for one's family, as well as for one's self, would there not be danger of such an enormous growth in population as to make each one's share increasingly smaller, and in the course of a few centuries completely fill the world?

Socialist: To this I might answer that it is useless to cross a bridge until we come to it. The law of population is not yet well enough known for us to say exactly what would be the result of a more rapid increase in the number of the world's inhabitants. It is certain, however, that there is vastly more room on earth than is occupied by those who now live upon it. It has been noted, too, that as men increase in intelligence and prosperity they have fewer children. In a Coöperative Commonwealth where educational and other advantages were open to all, there would be a great increase of intelligence and culture, which might have their effect upon the birth rate. No one can walk of a summer night through the narrow back streets and alleys of the slum districts in our large cities without being impressed with the fact that it is the poor and ignorant who usually have the largest families. Children of all ages, dirty, ragged and half-

starved, are to be seen swarming everywhere. They sprawl and tumble in the gutters, rest and sleep in the doorways, and hang out of the windows in groups of two or three. Families of from five to ten and even more, ranging from babyhood to youth still in its teens, are not uncommon. On the contrary go to Fifth Avenue or Commonwealth Avenue and you find a condition exactly the reverse. Families among the rich, intelligent and well-fed rarely number more than five and, more often than not, two or three. You cannot, therefore, argue from these facts that increasing intelligence and prosperity would result in over-population. Still, even admitting that there should be danger of such a condition, it is probable that, when the danger became evident, the instinct of self-preservation would be sufficient to put a check upon the birth rate. It is also not beyond reason to believe that, as population threatened to become too numerous for the earth to support, Nature herself might step in to prevent this result. If we have faith in the goodness and wisdom of Divine Law, we can safely leave the problem for the far-distant future to solve. It is one that will not bother this generation nor the next.

List of Socialistic Works

SOCIALISM IN GENERAL

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM. Third edition, revised and enlarged. By Thomas Kirkup. London, 1906.

SOCIALISM. A SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES. By John Spargo. New York, 1906.

In his preface the author announces that his volume is wholly unpretentious in its aim, and that it is intended to be an introduction to a subject of growing international interest and importance. He contends that the organization of the Socialist state must be democratic, for socialism without democracy "is as impossible as shadow without light." A new and popular exposition of the subject.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Morris Hillquit. New York, 1906.

A complete account of the origin, development, and present status of the socialistic movement throughout the United States, indispensable to an intelligent appreciation of socialism as it exists in this country. A serious and important work.

WAR OF THE CLASSES. By Jack London. New York, 1905.

A cheap paper-covered book containing seven chapters on various aspects of the industrial problem, written in the author's usual vivid and interesting style.

160 LIST OF SOCIALISTIC WORKS

SOCIALISM, THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.
By Dr. Howard A. Gibbs. New York, 1905.

Thirty-two pages brim full of valuable information, culled from an extensive reading of authorities in science and economics, presented with unusual beauty of language and charm of style. Valuable and scientific information as to the historical, economic and ethical sides of socialism gleam on every page.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM. By Dr. Howard A. Gibbs. New York, 1905.

A twenty-page pamphlet by the author of the foregoing, printed especially for the Essex County, New Jersey, campaign committee of the Socialist party. A strong arraignment of the capitalistic system.

SOCIALISM : FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE. By Frederick Engels.

Comprising the literary number of "The Vanguard" (Milwaukee), March, 1905. A part of a larger work written by this well known follower of Karl Marx. Shows the historical basis of socialism, and is rather hard reading for beginners.

UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM. By Eugene V. Debbs.
Published by The Vanguard, 1905.

A ten-cent pamphlet showing why every worker should be a Socialist, written in simple, direct language.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE. By Walter Thomas Mills, A. M. Chicago, 1905.

A study of the foundation principles of social economy and their application to the collective struggle for existence. More than six hundred pages containing a thousand questions of the greatest importance to the working class, carefully stated and discussed. Written in the plainest English.

SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN. By Allan L. Benson. Milwaukee, 1905.

Mr. Benson was formerly employed on the New York Journal, and is a master of plain, direct and thought-compelling English. A big book sold at a small price.

CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM. By A. L. Benson.

PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMME OF SOCIALISM. Revised edition. By Carl D. Thompson. Milwaukee, 1905.

Explains in simple language what socialism is, what it is not, and how to inaugurate it. (Pamphlet.)

CAPITAL. Second American edition. By Karl Marx. Translated from the German by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Edited by Frederick Engels. A critical analysis of capitalist production.

This great work, known as the "Bible of the Working Man" is the product of American labor, being free from the typographical errors of the English edition. New and large type, bound in extra cloth. Milwaukee, 1905.

THE LARGER VIEW OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP. By John A. Zangerie. Cleveland, 1906. (Pamphlet.)

The author believes that "We are bound to have monopolies; the only question is whether they shall own the public or the public own them." He writes, "To assist in some small degree in diverting public sentiment from the dollar view," which has hitherto obscured all other considerations in the discussions and operations of municipal ownership.

162 LIST OF SOCIALISTIC WORKS

SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM. By Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., LL. D. New York, 1894.

The work is divided into four parts: Part One treating of the Nature of Socialism; Part Two, of the Strength of Socialism; Part Three, of the Weakness of Socialism; and Part Four, the Golden Mean, or Practicable Social Reform. The author's views are presented in a clear, candid, and fearless manner, and furnish one of the best discussions of the subject.

FRENCH AND GERMAN SOCIALISM IN MODERN TIMES. By Richard T. Ely. New York, 1883.

The author says: "My aim is to give a perfectly fair, impartial presentation of modern communism and socialism in their two strongholds, France and Germany. I believe that in so doing I am rendering a service to the friends of law and order." The book is full of information concerning the many different schools of socialism in these two countries.

THE ETHICS OF SOCIALISM. By Ernest Belfort Bax. London, 1889.

The author is a defender of materialist socialism and presents socialism in one of its least attractive forms.

MODERN SOCIALISM. By Annie Besant. London, 1890.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By W. D. P. Bliss. Boston, 1894.

STUDIES IN MODERN SOCIALISM AND LABOR PROBLEMS. By Thomas Edwin Brown. New York, 1886.

The author is a clergyman who has given considerable attention to the subject, and endeavors to be fair, while at the same time critical.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. By J. R. Commons. New York and London, 1893.

An able treatment of some of the economic principles involved in socialism, with valuable statistics on the concentration of wealth.

SOCIALISM, NEW AND OLD. By William Graham. New York, 1891.

GREELEY AND OTHER PIONEERS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM. By Charles Sotheran. New York, 1892.

THE COÖPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH: AN EXPOSITION OF MODERN SOCIALISM. By Laurence Gronlund. Boston, 1884, and New York, 1887.

COMMUNISM IN AMERICA. By H. A. James. New York, 1879.

METHODS OF SOCIAL REFORM. By William Stanley Jevons. London, 1883.

The author favors cooperation and profit-sharing, but opposes government ownership of railroads. The work is written with great clearness and attractiveness.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA. By A. M. Simons. Third edition. Chicago, 1907.

STEPPING-STONES TO SOCIALISM. By David Maxwell. London, 1891.

SOCIALISM. By John Stuart Mill. New York, 1891.

ART AND SOCIALISM. By William Morris. London, 1884.

164 LIST OF SOCIALISTIC WORKS

SIGNS OF CHANGE. By Morris. London, 1889.

SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME. By Morris. London, 1893.

WILLIAM MORRIS, POET, ARTIST, SOCIALIST. New York, 1891.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM. By John Rae. London, 1891.

With additional chapters on Anarchism, State Socialism, and Russian Nihilism.

COMMUNISM. By John Ruskin. New York, 1891.

OWEN AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS. By E. R. A. Seligman. New York, 1886.

Contains a full list of the works of Robert Owen and the Christian Socialists.

COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM IN THEIR HISTORY AND THEORY. By T. D. Woolsey. New York, 1880.

SOCIALISM AND PHILOSOPHY. By Antonio Labriola. Translated from the third Italian Edition. Chicago, 1907.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM. By Alfred Barry. London, 1890.

Declares that Christianity should seek to balance socialism by emphasizing the sacredness of individuality.

LIST OF SOCIALISTIC WORKS 165

SOCIALISM OF CHRIST. By A. Bierbower. Chicago, 1891.

WHAT IS CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM? By W. D. P. Bliss. Boston, 1894.

SOCIALISM OF CHRISTIANITY. By W. Blissard. London, 1891.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY. By Hugh Price Hughes. New York, 1889.

THEORY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. By Moritz Kaufmann. London, 1888.

SOCIALISM AS A MORAL MOVEMENT. By D. J. Medley. Oxford, 1884.

SOCIALISM AND REFORM IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW CHURCH. By R. L. Tafel. London, 1891.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM: WHAT AND WHY? By Philo W. Sprague. New York, 1891.

SPIRITUAL SOCIALISM. By Vida D. Scudder. Boston, 1893.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. By W. Tuckwell. London, 1891.

SOCIALISTIC STORIES

STEPHEN REMARX. By James Adderley. London, 1893.

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LOOKING BACKWARD (2000-1887). By Edward Bellamy. Boston, 1890.

Describes the strange experiences of Julian West, a wealthy young Bostonian who is put to sleep by a hypnotist in 1887, and is resuscitated by Dr. Leete in the year 2000. Gives an account of the changed appearance of the city, the absence of buying and selling, the method of exchanges between nations, the regulation of employment by means of guilds, and the carrying out of the cooperative scheme in all departments of life. Upon this book was founded the doctrines of Nationalism.

EQUALITY. By Edward Bellamy. New York, 1897.

A sequel to "Looking Backward." Less a story, but a deeper and more comprehensive consideration of the subject than the former work.

ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN. By Walter Besant. London, 1887.

To indicate to the working women of East London a way of escape from the meanness, misery, and poverty of their lives, the heroine of the story sets up among them a cooperative dressmaking establishment, she herself living with her work girls. The famous People's Palace of East London had its origin in this story; and mainly because of it, the author was knighted.

SYBIL, OR TWO NATIONS. By Benjamin Disraeli. London.

DEMOS: A STORY OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM. By George Gissing. Paris, 1886.

LIST OF SOCIALISTIC WORKS 167

THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston.

Founded on the Brook Farm Community's (Roxbury, Mass.) attempt to realize equality and fraternity in labor.

A HAZARD OF NEW FORTUNES. By William Dean Howells. New York, 1890.

Illustrates the conditions of metropolitan life, especially as these are concerned with the extremes of poverty and wealth. The novel is something more than a clever drawing of places and people; deep ethical and social questions are involved in it. It is a drama of human life in the fullest sense.

THE TRAVELER FROM ALTRURIA. By Howells. New York, 1893.

ALTON LOCKE. By Charles Kingsley. London, 1892.

First published in England in 1850, this book made a great stir, and did much to turn the thoughts of the upper ranks of society to their responsibility for the lower. Its hero, a poet-tailor, feels deep in his soul the horrors of the sweating system and other abuses which grind the poor, and devotes himself to their amelioration.

YEAST. By Kingsley. London, 1890.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGES. By W. H. Mallock. London, 1887.

THE DREAM OF JOHN BALL. By William Morris. London, 1889.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By Morris. London, 1892.

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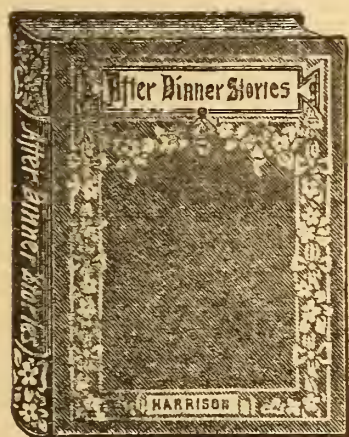
THE NEW ATLANTIS. By Francis Bacon. London, 1885.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF OCEANA (1656). By James Harrington. London, 1887.

UTOPIA. By Thomas More. London, 1886.

First written in Latin in 1615, this book is the source from which have been taken many of the socialistic ideas, which are to-day interesting modern thinkers. In the imaginary country of Utopia (meaning in Greek "no place"), the government is representative. The life is communism. No man is allowed to be idle; but labor is abridged, and the hours of toil are as brief as is consistent with the general welfare. All are well educated, and take interest in the study of good literature. Such a lessening of labor is gained by a community of all things that none are in need, and there is no desire to amass more than each man can use. Gold and silver are only used for vessels of baser use, and for the fetters of bondmen. Happiness is regarded as the highest good; but that of the community is above that of the individual. Law-breakers are made bondmen. There are few laws; for the Utopians do not believe it just that men should be bound by laws more numerous than can be read, or more complex than may be readily understood. War is abhorred; it being most just when employed to take vacant land from people who keep others from the possession of it.

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The genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs, and the condensed wisdom of all ages and all nations is embodied in them. ¶ A good proverb that fits the case is often a convincing argument. ¶ This volume contains a representative collection of proverbs, old and new, and the indexes, topical and alphabetical, enable one to find readily just what he requires.

THINGS WORTH KNOWING

By John H. Bechtel

Can you name the coldest place in the United States or tell what year had 445 days? Do you know how soon the coal fields of the world are likely to be exhausted, or how the speed of a moving train may be told? What should you do first if you got a cinder in your eye, or your neighbor's baby swallowed a pin? This unique, up-to-date book answers thousands of just such interesting and useful questions.

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By John H. Bechtel

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SLIPS OF SPEECH

By John H. Bechtel

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By John H. Bechtel

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A new word is a new tool. ¶ This book will not only enlarge your vocabulary, but will show you how to express the exact shade of meaning you have in mind, and will cultivate a more precise habit of thought and speech. ¶ It will be found invaluable to busy journalists, merchants, lawyers, or clergymen, and as an aid to teachers no less than to the boys and girls under their care.

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By John Harrison

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Most men dread being called upon to respond to a toast or to make an address. ¶ What would you not give for the ability to be rid of this embarrassment? No need to give much when you can learn the art from this little book. ¶ It will tell you how to do it; not only that, but by example it will show the way. ¶ It is valuable not alone to the novice, but to the experienced speaker, who will gather from it many suggestions.

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By Paul Allardyce

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By Henry Ward Beecher

Few men ever enjoyed a wider experience or achieved a higher reputation in public speaking than Mr. Beecher. ¶ What he has to say on this subject was born of experience, and his own inimitable style was at once both statement and illustration of his theme. ¶ This volume is a unique and masterly treatise on the fundamental principles of true oratory.

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Some people are accused of talking too much. But no one is ever taken to task for talking too well.

¶ Of all the accomplishments of modern society, that of being an agreeable conversationalist holds first place. Nothing is more delightful or valuable. ¶ To suggest what to say, just how and when to say it, is the general aim of this work, and it succeeds most admirably in its purpose.

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AS A FINE ART

By Ernest Legouvé

The ability to read aloud well, whether at the fireside or on the public platform, is a fine art.

¶ The directions and suggestions contained in this work of standard authority will go far toward the attainment of this charming accomplishment. ¶ The work is especially recommended to teachers and others interested in the instruction of public school pupils.

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By Dean Rivers

Conundrums sharpen our wits and lead us to think quickly. ¶ They are also a source of infinite amusement

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